

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

Permanent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/91085>

Copyright and reuse:

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

**The Uses of Classical Learning in the Río de la Plata,
c. 1750-1815**

by

Desiree Arbo

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History**

University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient History

September 2016

Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES.....	V
LIST OF TABLES.....	V
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	VI
DECLARATION AND INCLUSION OF MATERIAL FROM A PREVIOUS PUBLICATION	VII
NOTE ON REFERENCES	VII
ABSTRACT	VIII
ABBREVIATIONS.....	IX
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Classical Reception, Neo-Latin and Identities	2
2. The geographies of classical learning	6
3. The Classical Tradition in Spanish America.....	12
4. Scholastics, humanists, and Jesuits	18
5. Jesuit exile and literary controversies	25
6. 1767-1810: Changes in classical learning.....	29
CHAPTER 1: JOSÉ MANUEL PERAMÁS' <i>LAUDATIONES QUINQUE</i> (1766), JESUIT CLASSICAL LEARNING AND LOCAL CREOLE AMBITIONS.....	34
Introduction	34
Biography and Works	35
The Early Period (pre-1767): The Laudationes Quinque.....	37
Córdoba and Jesuit Education in the Rio de la Plata	37
The First Oration: Ignacio Duarte and the origins of creole nobility	40
The coat of arms and creole stars.....	43

Conquistador ancestors	45
The Second and Third Orations: Education for the good of the Republic and the Ignatian aims of Education	47
The Fourth Oration and the Language of Disease	50
Fifth Oration: <i>Utilitas</i> and Peramás' concept of Republic	53
The <i>utilitas</i> of colleges in the Old World	56
The <i>utilitas</i> of colleges in the New World	59
Education and the dangerous company of 'the worst kind of people'	60
For the good of the Republic and the problem of the 'New'	65
For the glory of the Republic and Creole Latin Learning	69
Conclusion	72

CHAPTER 2: THE EXILE WRITINGS OF JOSÉ MANUEL PERAMÁS AND A JESUIT MODEL OF STATEHOOD (1767-1793) 73

Introduction	73
The 'Middle Period' (1767-1777): Annus Patiens (1768-69), Finis Anni Patientis elegia (1770), and De Invento Novo Orbe (1777).....	77
Coming to grips with exile	77
<i>Aeneid</i> II and Italy as the land of exile.....	80
Cicero and coming home to Italy, the 'mother of eloquence'	81
De Invento Novo Orbe (1777)	83
The Dedication: Celebrating Creole Saints.....	85
The Prologue and Sources of <i>De invento novo orbe</i>	87
The Epic as a response to the 'Black Legend'	91
The Later Period (1777-1793): De administratione guaranica and Jesuit notions of nation, patria and statehood in the missions of Paraguay	93
Presentation of the text and argument.....	94
At the frontier of the Spanish Empire: The Jesuits in Paraguay (1609- 1767) and relations with the neighbouring Portuguese.....	96
Origins of Jesuit discourse on the missions: Responding to European and American critics	100
The 'Jesuit Kingdom of Paraguay'	103
Plato and the isolation of the Jesuit missions.....	105

Adapting Cicero and the invention of a ‘Guarani people’	108
The communal system of the missions: Tacitus and Vanière	112
Vanière and Division of labour	116
Education for the Good of the Republic and Indian authorities.....	117
Jesuit ‘bee-keepers’ and warlike Indian ‘bees’	120
Guarani patriotism and the uprising of 1754-1756	124
Conclusion	127

CHAPTER 3: CLASSICAL LEARNING IN COLONIAL PARAGUAY, THE JESUIT COLLEGE OF ASUNCIÓN AND THE REAL COLEGIO SEMINARIO DE SAN

CARLOS (C. 1750-1790).....	131
Introduction	131
The Jesuit College of Asunción	135
Institutional context.....	135
The Jesuit Library of Asunción.....	145
Asunción and the Neo-Classical Turn at the College of Villagarcía c. 1755-1767	150
‘Baroque’ Latin Grammars and the teaching methods of Idiáquez	156
After 1767: Bourbon Reforms at the University of Córdoba.....	161
The Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos of Asunción	166
Institutional Context.....	166
The Plan de Estudios of 1783.....	173
Conclusion	180

CHAPTER 4: THE RECEPTION OF ANTIQUITY AND THE CONCEPT OF REPUBLIC IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.....

Introduction	182
‘Republic’ in Eighteenth-Century Europe and Spanish America	185
1809-1816: Imagining ‘republic’ in Buenos Aires and the Rio de la Plata	195
1811: Articulating self-government in Paraguay	201
1812-1814: Articulating ‘republic’ and the Paraguayan consulate.....	205
1814: Dictatorship of Doctor Francia	211

Conclusion: Francia's Radical Republic.....	216
CONCLUSION	218
EPILOGUE: NEW TROY AND NEW ROME	225
BIBLIOGRAPHY	229

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Map of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay and adjacent lands [c.1740]....	8
Figure 2 - Der Neue Welt-Bott.....	10
Figure 3 - Different kinds of dress of Jesuit priests and students..	12
Figure 4 - Map of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay and adjacent lands (1756)....	38
Figure 5 - Coat of arms of Duarte	42
Figure 6 - Map of the Governorates of Paraguay and Buenos Aires, with the division line established by Spain and Portugal in 1750	98
Figure 7 - Signatures of the Indian authorities of San Joaquín.....	120
Figure 8 - Dress of Spaniards in America.....	139
Figure 9 - ANA SH Vol. 143 No. 3, f. 7	171

List of Tables

Table 1 - Jesuit professors at the College of Asuncion (1758-1765).....	143
Table 2 - Classical texts and commentaries in the Jesuit Library of Asunción ..	146

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge the unfailing support and guidance of my two supervisors, Professor Andrew Laird and Professor Rebecca Earle. I am profoundly grateful for their extensive and enriching feedback. I also wish to thank the Graduate School at the University of Warwick for funding my research, the Department of Classics and Ancient History for having faith in this interdisciplinary project, and the Department of History for treating me as one of their own students and providing invaluable resources and teaching experience.

I would like to extend my appreciation to the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance for granting me a visiting studentship at Johns Hopkins University in Spring 2016, and to the CSR director Professor Ingrid De Smet for her continued encouragement. I cannot name all the professors and PhD students at Hopkins who offered useful comments on my project, but I would like to single out Dr. Earle Havens for his enthusiastic insights on book history and Jesuit libraries. Heartfelt thanks goes to Dr. Sara Miglietti and Dr. Eugenio Refini at Hopkins for organising the studentship.

I also wish to thank the Bodleian Library, the Queen's College Library in Oxford, the British Library, and the Sheridan Libraries at Johns Hopkins (which includes the Rare Books Collection at the Peabody Library). This thesis greatly benefitted from consulting their pre-1800 printed material. I am grateful to the staff at the Archivo Nacional of Asunción for guiding me through the archive collections and unearthing documents relating to Latin and the history of education in Paraguay.

A few people deserve special mention: Professor Ignacio Telesca for his initial guidance when I was drafting my PhD proposal and for his unceasing support over the last five years; Sara Miglietti for stimulating conversations on all aspects of my thesis; Javier Francisco Vallejo for his insights on the Jesuit University of Córdoba; Rebecca Noble Smith for many coffees over Spanish American history; Rocco Di Dio for all things Ficino; Sofia Guthrie for her Neo-Latin support; and my office-mate Thomas Bray for helping me adjust to

academic life in the UK. I owe a certain debt of gratitude to Chinese buffets with my Warwick friends, which provided some much-needed levity during the writing-up period. I must also mention the kindness of the Jaspers of Somerset, who have been like a second family during my time in the UK. Most of all I would like to thank my family in Paraguay, especially my parents, who have never stopped supporting me. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Declaration and Inclusion of Material from a Previous Publication

I declare that the thesis is my own work except a section of Chapter 2 (pp. 81-89) which was drawn from the following co-authored article, with some modifications: Desiree Arbo and Andrew Laird, 'Columbus, the Lily of Quito and the Black Legend: The Context of José Manuel Peramás' Epic on the Discovery of the New World: *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777)' in *Dieciocho: Journal of the Spanish Enlightenment* 38 no. 1 (2015): 7-32.

I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Note on References

References to Peramás' *Laudationes Quinque* are from the 2005 edition by Marcela Alejandra Suárez, indicated in footnotes by the oration and page number. Example: *Laudatio V* (page 35).

References to Peramás' *De administratione guaranica* include the original chapter and section numbers, with the 2004 translation by Fernández Pertíñez and its page number in brackets. Example: *De adm.*1.8 [2004, 31].

Abstract

This thesis explores the uses of classical learning in colonial Rio de la Plata and early independent Paraguay (c.1767-1815). It examines different ways in which classical influences are discernible: in the works of the Jesuit José Manuel Peramás (Chapters 1 and 2), in colonial classrooms and library inventories (Chapter 3), and in the political discourse of Paraguayan independence (Chapter 4). As missionaries, educators and authors of Latin literature, the Jesuits exerted a powerful cultural force in the Rio de la Plata until their expulsion in 1767, yet their legacy in the intellectual life of colonial Paraguay has been neglected; Paraguayan historians dismiss the colonial period as a time of cultural stagnation, only revived by the importation of Enlightenment ideas from Europe and North America in the late eighteenth century. Yet these same scholars have not satisfactorily explained the ideology of the independence, given that the political rhetoric of the new republics was not always consistent with Enlightenment ideals. My thesis takes a revisionist point of view, arguing that the uses of classical knowledge reflected broader intellectual trends in the transition from the colonial to independent periods which help explain the initial construction of national identities in the Rio de la Plata.

Abbreviations

Classical texts

Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus <i>Rerum Gestarum</i>
Caes. <i>BGall.</i>	Caesar <i>Bellum Gallicum</i>
Cic. <i>De or.</i>	Cicero <i>De oratore</i>
Cic. <i>Inv.rhet.</i>	Cicero <i>De inventione rhetorica</i>
Cic. <i>Nat. D.</i>	Cicero <i>De natura deorum</i>
Cic. <i>Off.</i>	Cicero <i>De officiis</i>
Cic. <i>Phil.</i>	Cicero <i>Orationes Philippicae</i>
Cic. <i>Prov.Cons.</i>	Cicero <i>De provinciis consularibus</i>
Cic. <i>QFr.</i>	Cicero <i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>
Cic. <i>Red.pop.</i>	Cicero <i>Post reditum ad populum</i>
Cic. <i>Sest.</i>	Cicero <i>Pro Sestio</i>
Cic. <i>Tusc.</i>	Cicero <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
Columella <i>Rust.</i>	Columella <i>De re rustica</i>
Hor. <i>Ars P.</i>	Horace <i>Ars poetica</i>
Hor. <i>Carm.</i>	Horace <i>Carmina</i> (Odes)
Hor. <i>Epist.</i>	Horace <i>Epistulae</i>
Hor. <i>Epod.</i>	Horace <i>Epodi</i>
Hor. <i>Sat.</i>	Horace <i>Satirae</i>
Juv.	Juvenal (Satires)
Liv.	Livy <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
Luc.	Lucan <i>Pharsalia</i>
Lucr.	Lucretius <i>De rerum natura</i>
Mart.	Martial <i>Epigrammata</i>
Ov. <i>Ars am.</i>	Ovid <i>Ars amatoria</i>
Ov. <i>Her.</i>	Ovid <i>Heroides</i>
Ov. <i>Met.</i>	Ovid <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Ov. <i>Pont.</i>	Ovid <i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>
Ov. <i>Tr.</i>	Ovid <i>Tristia</i>
Plin. <i>Ep.</i>	Pliny (the Younger) <i>Epistulae</i>

Plin. <i>HN</i>	Pliny (the Elder) <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Quint. <i>Inst.</i>	Quintilian <i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Sen. <i>Med.</i>	Seneca (the Younger) <i>Medea</i>
Stat. <i>Silv.</i>	Statius <i>Silvae</i>
Suet. <i>Gram. et rhet.</i>	Suetonius <i>De grammaticis et rhetoribus</i>
Tac. <i>Germ.</i>	Tacitus <i>Germania</i>
Tac. <i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus <i>Historiae</i>
Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus <i>Argonautica</i>
Verg. A.	Virgil <i>Aeneid</i>
Verg. <i>Ecl.</i>	Virgil <i>Eclogues</i>
Verg. G.	Virgil <i>Georgics</i>

Reference works

CJPP	Storni, Hugo. <i>Catálogo de los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata), 1585-1768</i> . Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I, 1980.
DHCJ	O'Neill, Charles and Joaquín M. Domínguez. <i>Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático</i> . 4 vols. Roma/Madrid: Institutum Historicum S.I/ Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001.
OCD ⁴	Hornblower, Simon, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow, eds. <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Archives and collections

ANA	Archivo Nacional de Asunción (Paraguay)
SH	Sección Historia
NE	Sección Nueva Encuadernación
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires, Argentina)
BN	Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina

Introduction

This thesis explores the functions of classical learning in colonial Paraguay as manifested in Latin and vernacular literatures, and primarily in relation to the legacy of the Jesuit endeavours in evangelisation and education, both rooted in Renaissance humanism and the broader culture of early modern Catholicism. The main argument is that classical learning contributed towards an articulation of different identities during rapidly changing political contexts and social dynamics in the Rio de la Plata, particularly as a result of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Classical learning thus functioned a tool that shaped relations between elites and the rest of the population of the region during the colonial period, and ultimately helped define the fraught relationship of the nascent American republics with Spain after 1808.

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 explore the articulation of local elite and broader American identities through a study of the Latin works of the Jesuit José Manuel Peramás (1732-1793). Chapter 3 surveys the transformation of classical learning in colonial Rio de la Plata from a primarily *Jesuit* classical learning to a *secular* classical learning, with a focus on the Jesuit College of Asunción and the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos. Chapter 4 addresses the legacies of this classical learning in the Rio de la Plata between 1808 and 1816, when the political landscape was characterised by disputes over the meaning of ‘republic’ and the actual relevance of antiquity to projects of modern state-building. In short, the focus of this study is classical learning and the Spanish American social and cultural contexts within which it existed.

Overall, these chapters show that Jesuit colleges were deeply embedded in colonial society. Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 contend that classical learning acquired additional significance in the eighteenth century as a way for creoles to assert their connections and differences with European culture. These attempts must be seen within broader historical and cultural contexts. The first is the nature and importance of Jesuit education as the vehicle for a literary, cultural and Catholic

moral world-view. The second refers to effects of the ‘irruption’ of nearly five thousand Jesuits into Italy and the European Enlightenment, as Miguel Batllori labelled the phenomenon marked by the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its overseas territories in 1767. This event stands as one of the great turning points of the period covered in this thesis, both as it shaped the literary production of José Manuel Peramás (Chapter 1 and 2), the decline of classical learning in the Rio de la Plata, where the Jesuits had been its main proponents (Chapter 3), and the simultaneous popularisation of an image of Rome outside of classrooms (Chapter 4).

In terms of sources, Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 explore the printed Latin production of Peramás before and after exile, respectively. The first part of Chapter 3 draws from archival material, printed grammars, and the inventory of the Jesuit library of Asunción, located in the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires (AGN). The second part of Chapter 3 analyses the programme of studies of the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos of Asunción (founded in 1783), which survives in a damaged manuscript held in the Archivo Nacional de Asunción, Paraguay (ANA). Chapter 4 is based on a variety of sources, including dictionaries, newspapers, and documents of the Paraguayan independence located in ANA.

The remainder of this introduction addresses and explains some broader issues and areas of investigation which have a direct bearing on the study to follow: (1) classical reception, classical tradition and the need for innovative methodologies, (2) the geographies of classical learning, (3) the classical tradition in Spanish America and the theme of ‘topping of the ancients’ (*Überbietung*), (4) Jesuit education, (5) Jesuit Latin literature in the Italian exile, and (6) transformations in classical learning in Spanish America after the Jesuit expulsion.

1. Classical Reception, Neo-Latin and Identities

In analysing modes of cultural transmission between antiquity and later periods, the research for this thesis began with classical reception theory, but its usefulness proved to be limited. Reception has been conceived as a two-way process between

the productions of classical antiquity and responses to those productions in later times, up to our own.¹ This interaction is the focus of classical reception (as distinct from longer established studies of *Nachleben* or the classical tradition outlined below) and it has some influence on the present study.

The name of the German-Jewish art historian and bibliophile Aby Warburg (1866-1925) has remained influential in classical tradition studies. Warburg sought to establish methodologies to study what he saw as the afterlife of ancient motifs in different civilisations and periods (*Nachleben*). In his 1893 dissertation Warburg analysed Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* by correlating it with the literary culture surrounding Botticelli's patron Lorenzo de Medici in Renaissance Florence.² Warburg's theory offered a way to study the appearance of classical themes in a given historical time, although the notion of 'survival' is not without its problems and has been challenged by reception theory: *Nachleben* 'presupposed that the ancient text or artefact exerting influence on the cultures of later times itself remained the same.'³

Subsequent proponents of the classical tradition run a similar risk. Wolfgang Haase defined it as a continuous relationship which unites the Greco-Roman world with diverse presents of the Western world where one can detect the imprint of antiquity.⁴ Similar to Warburg's *Nachleben*, (but definitely less so), the target culture may seem less distinctive, and the classical tradition may become monolithic and static. When used in the present study, 'classical tradition' must therefore be taken as multi-faceted and organic. It is in the attitudes of Spanish Americans towards this tradition, which they perceived they belonged to and yet

¹ Lorna Hardwick, 'Introduction: Making Connections,' in L. Hardwick and C. Stray, eds., *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 1-9. See also Charles Martindale, 'Reception' in Craig W. Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 295-311; Hans R. Jauss, Timothy Bahti, trans., *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982); Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas, eds., *Classics and the uses of reception*, (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

² Kurt Foster, 'Introduction' in Aby Warburg, David Britt, trans. *The renewal of pagan antiquity: contributions to the cultural history of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999 [1932]), 11.

³ Laird, 'Reception', 356.

⁴ Wolfgang Haase 'America and the Classical Tradition: Preface and Introduction' in Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Rheinhold, eds., *The Classical Tradition and the Americas* vol. 1 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), vi.

sought to surpass, that we find revealing traits about the formation of creole and later national identities.

In practice, classical reception has come to be principally concerned with responses to ancient *literary* texts – a trend also reflected to a degree in the field of Neo-Latin studies.⁵ However, reception has not offered much in the way of methodologies, while Neo-Latin scholars have devoted increased attention to other approaches and cross-disciplinary research, with a geographical scope not limited to Europe, as exemplified by recent volumes such as *Brill's Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Studies* and *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*.⁶ Such developments in the field have been crucial in gaining a better understanding of intellectual currents that underpinned much of early modern culture, from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. This thesis embraces the prospect of more interdisciplinary and eclectic approaches.

While the first two chapters are devoted to an analysis of the Latin works of Peramás, as a whole this is not a Neo-Latin thesis in the sense that it is not primarily concerned with literary and linguistic features of Latin texts. It does however grapple with the question posed almost two decades ago by Françoise Wacquet and which remains central to Neo-Latin studies: What did Latin 'mean' in the societies in which it existed?⁷ Investigation into the role of Latin in relation and competition with vernacular languages has always been a feature of Neo-Latin studies, particularly as it helps understand the construction of individual and

⁵ Cf. definition of 'reception' in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edition), 1256-1257: 'reception, in the specialized sense used within literary theory . . . Studies of reception-history (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*) are studies of reading, interpreting, (re)fashioning, appropriation, use, and abuse of past texts over the centuries.' For a comprehensive discussion see Andrew Laird, 'Reception' in Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 349-368.

⁶ Craig Kallendorf, 'Review Essay: Recent Trends in Neo-Latin Studies', *Renaissance Quart.* 69 no. 2 (2016): 617-629; Philip Ford, Charles Fantazzi and Jan Bloemendahl, eds., *Brill's Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Studies*, 2 vols. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014); Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). See also the volume of collected papers by Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Ruys, eds., *Latin and Alterity in the Early Modern Period* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies/Brepols, 2010).

⁷ Françoise Wacquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London: Verso, 2001), 3, 177. This is a translation of the French original, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998).

collective identities.⁸ This intersects with the interests of historians, most importantly for our purposes, with the interests of social and cultural historians. Peter Burke, for example, argued that languages in early modern Europe served to construct and reconstruct communities; the expansion of certain vernaculars signalled the rise of new communities, while other vernaculars disappeared.⁹ Language was one means by which individuals were ‘embedded’ in various peer groups and social contexts, to use the term by Natalie Zemon Davis – which means that identities could be multiple and fluid.¹⁰ Benedict Anderson’s study of nations as ‘imagined communities’ also addressed the role of language, locating the decline of Latin as an international language of intelligentsia as one of the cultural roots of modern nationalism.¹¹ The relationship between identities and Latin lies at the heart of this interdisciplinary project.

This thesis takes ‘classical learning’ as its subject of study because Latin was not the only indicator of a classical tradition in Spanish America (as discussed in section 3 below). By analysing the functions of classical learning in relation to its socio-historical contexts this thesis goes beyond classical reception, applying different methods to less familiar objects of study. In the Rio de la Plata there was no circle of poets and writers surrounding the elite families – the scholarly networks of the Jesuits perhaps provided the nearest equivalent to the Renaissance *studio* or humanist court circle. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 Latin fell into steep decline, while the Guaraní population of the former missions became incorporated into mainstream colonial society. This study proposes that the contexts and social dynamics that enabled and shaped the transmission of classical learning in the Rio de la Plata were radically different from European settings, which requires different methodologies. The overall approach is more historical

⁸ An overview of the relationship between Latin and the modern vernaculars was offered in Jozef Ijsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam/Oxford: North-Holland, 1977), 40-44. A revised edition published in 1998 provides the updated version in Part II.

⁹ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France,’ in Thomas C. Heller et al., eds., *Reconstructing Individualism, Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 53-63.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), especially 47-66.

than reception-oriented, centred on two events that influenced the nature of classical learning: the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its overseas territories in 1767, and the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808 which catalysed the independence movements in Spanish America.

2. The geographies of classical learning

It would be anachronistic to situate a study of classical learning in colonial Spanish America according to modern nomenclature of Latin American nations, though this has been common practice among historians of the classical tradition in America.¹² This thesis adopts a regional outlook by focusing on the Rio de la Plata, which is the area irrigated by this river and its tributaries and includes areas pertaining to the modern countries of Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and parts of Brazil and Bolivia. The Rio de la Plata formed part of a trans-Atlantic cultural world, both as part of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay until 1767 and of the Spanish Empire until 1808.¹³

The first confirmed Spanish incursion into the area was the 1515 expedition of Juan Diaz de Solís. It ended in disaster: Solís was killed and dismembered by cannibalistic Amerindians on disembarking, and one of his caravels was shipwrecked on the island of Santa Catalina. Among the survivors was the Portuguese Aleixo García, who is credited with the discovery of Paraguay in 1524. This adventurer spent years among the coastal Indians, whom he then led in his own expedition across the continent in search of a fabled mountain of silver. García was reputed to have reached the Andean highlands but was killed on his return. News of García's expedition in turn distracted Sebastian Cabot from his plan of reaching the Pacific Ocean in 1527, and he too decided to explore the 'river of silver' (Rio de la Plata). In 1534 a plan to conquer the area materialised

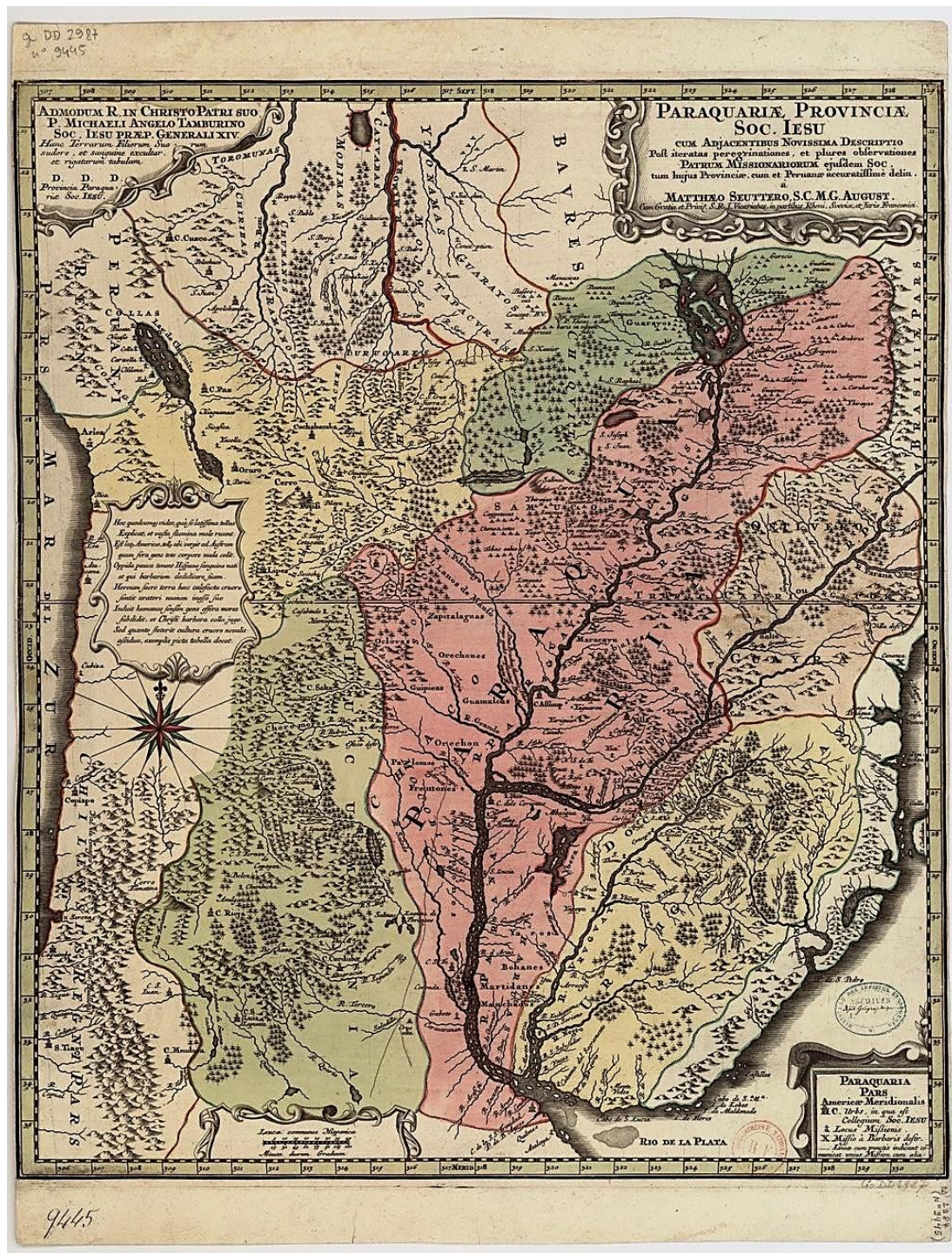
¹² Cf. Andrew Laird, 'Colonial Spanish America & Brazil' in Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 537.

¹³ On the inadequacy of national narratives applied anachronistically to Atlantic phenomena, see especially the introduction in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2009); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?' *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 787-799.

when Charles I of Spain named Pedro de Mendoza the first *governor-adelantado* of the Río de la Plata.

Forts in Buenos Aires and in Asunción were founded in 1536 and 1537. However, due to famine and continued threat from Indian attacks, Buenos Aires was abandoned in 1541. Asunción thus became the base of the conquest and colonisation of the Río de la Plata in the sixteenth century - it was from Asunción that Juan de Garay set out to found Buenos Aires for a second time in 1580. In 1617 the Governorate of the Río de la Plata and Paraguay was divided into two separate units at the suggestion of the governor Hernando Arias de Saavedra (also known as Hernandarias). This eventually eroded Asunción's position as the political and economic centre of the region. Hernandarias also invited the Jesuits in 1608 to gather native populations into settlements (*reducciones*) along the Paraguay and Paraná rivers, partly with the intention of limiting the exploitation of Indians. The missions of Paraguay would become the most famous endeavours of the Jesuits in Spanish America. The provincial headquarters themselves remained in Córdoba, in Tucumán.

The map below is of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay around 1740. It included the secular provinces of Paraguay and Buenos Aires (red), Tucumán (green), and Montevideo and the missions along the Uruguay River (yellow). To the north, it encompassed the Chiriguano missions in Upper Peru (yellow) and Chiquitos (green). The map is slightly outdated because by the eighteenth century the region of Guayrá (brown) had long been occupied by the Portuguese. It also wrongly includes Potosí and the western part of Upper Peru as part of the province. Nonetheless, the map is still a useful visualisation of the extent of the territory covered by the Jesuits of Paraguay.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1 - Matthäus Seutter, *Paraquariae provinciae Soc[ietatis] Iesu cum adjacentibus novissima descriptio post iteratas peregrinationes, et plures observationes ...* [c. 1740]. Accessed 14 August 2016 from gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-2987 (9445).
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40618225j>

The Jesuits not only disseminated classical learning by means of founding colleges, but they also produced knowledge about the Americas that reached Europe by means of their extensive correspondence. The Jesuits of Paraguay were part of a global network where men, books and ideas circulated more efficiently than even through secular imperial networks.¹⁴ This was vital for a region which had no printing press, with the exception of the mission of Santa Maria la Mayor.¹⁵ This press was unique because it was built and staffed by Guaraní typographers, who created their own woodblocks to illustrate the books. The press was in operation between 1700 and 1730, when it stopped printing due to lack of paper.¹⁶ It produced some Latin literature but most of its efforts went into printing texts for the instruction of the mission population, such as a revised version of the Guaraní grammar by Antonio Ruíz de Montoya.¹⁷

The book trade in the Rio de la Plata has recently started to be investigated. In a study of the Verdussen printing family of Antwerp, Stijn Van Rossem found that the Jesuit Province of Paraguay placed the largest order of books in 1681. The shipment - eleven cases and one bale of books, valued at 19,303 pesos - travelled from Cadiz to Buenos Aires after a complex series of loans and deals between the various echelons of the Jesuit hierarchy, their procurator in Seville, the book dealer and investor Juan Salvador Pérez, and his agents.¹⁸ This helps explain the considerable presence of books printed in the

¹⁴ J. Gabriel Martínez-Serna, 'Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits' Atlantic Network', in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 181-210.

¹⁵ On the book trade in general see Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005). On the role of Jesuit procurators in shipping books within the Spanish imperial system see Agustín García Galán, *El Oficio de Indias 1566-1767* (Seville: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1995).

¹⁶ José C. Balmaceda Abrate, 'El origen de la imprenta en Argentina: introducción al estudio del incunable guaraní impreso en Loreto,' in *Isabel I y la imprenta: consecuencias materiales, en el mundo cultural, de esta revolución tecnológica* [Actas de las jornadas, Madrid, 18, 19 y 20 de noviembre de 2004] (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005). See Guillermo Furlong, *Orígenes del arte tipográfico en América, especialmente en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 127-149.

¹⁷ Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Arte de la Lengua Guaraní con los escolios, anotaciones y apendices del P. Paulo Restivo ...* (Santa Maria la Mayor: 1724).

¹⁸ Stijn Van Rossem, 'The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)', in Natalia Maillard Álvarez, ed., *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 1-51.

Netherlands in the library of Asunción, whose holdings of classical texts is explored in Chapter 3.

The transfer of knowledge and the global nature of the Jesuit network is well illustrated by the image below: an engraving on the frontispiece of the 1726 German edition of missionary letters *Allerhand so lehr als Geistreiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen*, popularly known as *Der Neue Welt-Bott* ('New World Messenger').¹⁹



Figure 2 - *Der Neue Welt-Bott mit aller hand nachrichten deren Missionarien Soc[ietatis] IESU*

¹⁹ This is an added title page to Joseph Stöcklein, S.J., ed., *Allerhand so lehr - als geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen [...]* Vol. 1 (Augsburg & Graz, 1726). Duke University Libraries, Jantz Collection: <https://archive.org/details/allerhandsolehra00stck>.

A hugely successful anthology, *Der Neue Welt-Bott* continued expanding until 1761, with volumes published in Augsburg and later Vienna, though it remains little studied.²⁰ In the image, Mercury holds the *caduceus* and sheets of paper as symbols of victorious eloquence. While the Renaissance indeed saw Mercury-Hermes as the tutelary divinity for Rhetoric, his role as mediator between gods and mortals went back to antiquity.²¹ With the monogram IHS hovering over the *caduceus*, the allegory of the Jesuit order could not be clearer: like angels, and like Mercury, the Jesuits are messengers of God bringing religion to all areas of the world. ‘I bring you tidings of great joy’ reads underneath the winged feet of Mercury, alluding to the angel who announced the birth of Jesus in Luke 2.10.²² As missionaries and educators, Jesuits played a prominent role in the transmission of Christianity along with classical learning in America.

As the protector of commerce, Mercury was also an apt choice for an enterprise that involved the circulation of ideas and goods, in this case, printed books. The sheets of paper in the image symbolise a body of travel literature waiting to be printed in the volume. Mercury’s cape is attached to a globe, and he bears news that was literally pulled from the whole world (‘Ex America’, etc.), just as the ship waving the Jesuit banner holds animals from all four continents: the camel (Africa), the lion (Europe), the spotted tiger (America) and the elephant (Asia). The epigraph explains that ‘they shall come from the rising and setting of the sun, from the direction of midday and midnight’ (Luke 13.29). The ship approaches a lighthouse with a shining lamp, which functions as symbols both of Christendom and knowledge, so that the image becomes in effect a double-

²⁰ See Claudia von Collani, ‘Der Neue Welt-Bott: A Preliminary Survey,’ *Sino-Western cultural relations journal* 25 (2003): 16-43; Bernd Hausberger, ‘El padre Joseph Stöcklein o el arte de inscribir el mundo a la fe’, in Karl Kohut and Maria Cristina Torales Pacheco, eds., *Desde los confines de los imperios ibéricos: Los jesuitas de habla alemana en las misiones americana* (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2007), 631-662; Albrecht Classen, ‘A Global Epistolary Network: Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Missionaries Write Home With an Emphasis on Philipp Segesser’s Correspondence from Sonora/Mexico’, *Studia Neophilologica*, 86 no. 1 (2014): 79-94.

²¹ OCD⁴, 935; Yves Bonnefoy, ed., *Roman and European Mythologies* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 135-137. On Mercury in Renaissance depictions of rhetoric see Heinrich F. Plett, ‘Iconography of Rhetoric and Eloquence’, in *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (Berlin/New York, 2004), 217-218.

²² For a similar self-presentation of Jesuits as angels in the *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), made in celebration of the anniversary of the order, see John W. O’Malley, ed., *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi (1640)* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2015).

allegory of evangelisation and knowledge transfer.²³ The intimate connection between a kind of knowledge (classical learning) and early modern Catholicism, particularly but not exclusively in relation to the activities of the Jesuit order and their role in colonial society, will be a recurrent concern in what is to follow.



Figure 3 - Different kinds of dress of Jesuit priests and students. From left to right: Student from a Jesuit college, Portuguese Jesuit priest with hat and rochet, student of the diocese seminary, Spanish Jesuit priest with hat and surplice, student of the Jesuit college with the ensigns of doctor, beca, and hat (Córdoba). By Florian Paucke, S.J. [*Hin und Her*, Zwettl Codex 420, 1770/1773-1780]. Bibliothèque Nationale de France photo reproduction: http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/grand/2_46c.htm.

3. The Classical Tradition in Spanish America

Since the arrival of the Spaniards in the late fifteenth century, ancient texts and languages were imported from Europe and sometimes appropriated by the peoples of the New World, including, very rarely, Indians and *mestizos* (individuals of

²³ Renate Durr, 'Der "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen: Wissenstransfer als Moment jesuitischer Identitätsbildung' *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 34 no. 3 (2007): 441-466.

mixed Spanish and Indian blood).²⁴ The study and production of Latin literature was dominated by elites: the main recipients of classical learning were creoles, who for our purposes are defined as descendants of Europeans born in the Americas.²⁵ A way of writing steeped in direct or indirect contact with ancient texts became part and parcel of creole literature and arts from its earliest stages, and was manifested in various forms, including texts, classrooms and political discourse. By the late eighteenth century, ambivalent attitudes towards classical learning explain its contribution to an articulation of an American identity at the same time as it became identified as a tool of domination of an elite. Thus, more than a 'tradition' in a literary sense, the uses of classical learning within the American social and cultural contexts within which it existed suggest a way of life and thinking framed, in different ways, by references to antiquity.

The classical tradition in the first encounter of Europeans with the New World has been the object of several recent studies.²⁶ Sabine MacCormack noted that the chronicler Pedro Cieza de León (c.1518-1555) made 'the Inca achievement intelligible and credible' by using classical references.²⁷ Cieza observed for instance that the Inca road from Quito to Cuzco (and continuing to Chile) rivalled the Roman road in Spain known as the 'silver road.'²⁸ The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), a *mestizo* chronicler, famously presented Cuzco as 'another Rome in that empire'.²⁹

²⁴ Andrew Laird, 'The teaching of Latin to the native nobility in Mexico in the mid-1500s: contexts, methods, and results', in Elizabeth P. Archibald et al., eds., *Learning Latin and Greek from Antiquity to the Present* [Yale Classical Studies Volume XXXVII] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 118-135.

²⁵ Andrew Laird, 'Colonial Spanish America & Brazil', 525-540.

²⁶ A selection of the abundant literature on this may include Andrew Laird, 'Latin America' in C.W. Kallendorf, *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 222-236; Sabine MacCormack, *On the wings of time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); David Lupher, *Romans in a New World, Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003).

²⁷ MacCormack, *On the wings of time*, 17.

²⁸ Cieza de León, *Chronica del Peru* 40: 'Podrase comparar este camino a la calçada que los Romanos hizieron, que en España llamanos camino de la plata.'

²⁹ Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, Proemio al lector: 'como Natural de la Ciudad de Cuzco, que fue otra Roma, en aquel Imperio, tengo mas larga, y clara noticia, que la que, hasta ahora, los Escritores han dado.' The parallel with Rome here merged with an Inca tradition in which Cuzco was the centre of the Andean world, where the gods had established their relationship with humans. Cf. Franklin Pease, 'Introduction', *Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980).

Roman historiography also allowed conquistadors to structure their narratives after the conquest. For example, during the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro against his brother Francisco (1545-1548), Gonzalo mused on how being brothers-in-law had not prevented Caesar and Pompey from falling out, and the conquistador Pedro de Valdivia wrote to Gonzalo from Chile reminding him of the role of avenger played by Octavian after the assassination of Caesar.³⁰ These stand out as examples of how the ancient world helped Spaniards describe, analyse and evaluate their experience in a New World. As the Renaissance scholar Anthony Grafton stated, ‘ancient texts served as . . . tools . . . for the intellectual exploration of new worlds’.³¹

While Greece and Rome provided the first material with which Europeans interpreted or ‘invented’ America, the discovery of new lands also contributed to revitalising symbols and myths from antiquity during the Renaissance in Europe itself, leading to the feverish search for the Amazons, cities of gold, Atlantis and fabulous creatures.³² Myths had suddenly become possible realities and discoveries of new lands fed European utopias. For example, the Peruvian novelist and historian Luis Enrique Tord argued that the navigator Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1532-1592) penned his description of his voyage to the Solomon Islands partly by drawing from Plato’s *Timaeus*, and that Sarmiento de Gamboa in turn influenced Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, ‘one of the great utopias of the Renaissance’.³³ This illustrates how European works not only influenced or fuelled expeditions to the New World, but how European culture was itself coming to be shaped by the American discoveries.³⁴

³⁰ Guillermo Lohman Villena, ‘Huellas renacentistas en la cultura peruana del siglo XVI,’ in Hampe Martínez, ed., *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal* (Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos), 116.

³¹ Anthony Grafton (with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi), *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992), 6.

³² Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 60-61; Franklin Pease, ‘Temas Clásicos en las crónicas peruanas de los siglos XVI y XVII’ in Hampe Martínez, ed., *La Tradición Clásica en el Perú Virreinal* (Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos), 17-34.

³³ Luis Enrique Tord, ‘Platón, la Atlántida, y los cronistas del Perú’ in Hampe Martínez, ed., *La Tradición Clásica en el Perú Virreinal* (Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos), 46.

³⁴ See the collection of essays in Karen O. Kupperman ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

In a study of the classical tradition in medieval Europe, the German literary scholar Ernst Robert Curtius described ‘topping of the ancients’ (*Überbietung*) as a common medieval and Renaissance ‘topos’.³⁵ These sorts of classical references became part of conquest chronicles. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c.1496-1584) and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557) saw themselves as surpassing Roman generals in the greater number of battles Spaniards fought and the distances they travelled: ‘compared to Hernan Cortés I am reminded of the military efforts of Julius Caesar, but those of Cortés were in a new world, far from Europe, and accompanied by so many labours...’³⁶ According to Bernal Díaz, when Cortés famously scuttled his ships to prevent defection to Cuba, some men grumbled that not even the most famous Roman generals had dared to do this. Cortés replied that indeed, nothing like it had been done before, which was why they would be remembered more than men of the past.³⁷ Cortés had successfully imitated and surpassed Caesar and Pompey, who had already seen themselves as surpassing Alexander the Great.³⁸

Moreover, Fernández de Oviedo suggested that in his description of nature and human events of America he had imitated but also outpaced Pliny the Elder, who himself had lost his life while observing the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D – a fact which Oviedo neglected to mention. Nevertheless, regarding seafaring Oviedo could claim more authority than Pliny, gained from his personal observation:

I found myself at sea in such a way that I could with more experience fear and understand the dangers of which Pliny had learnt through books or

³⁵ Ernst R. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Willard R. Trask, trans, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990 [1953]), 162-165.

³⁶ Oviedo, *Historia general* 33.20: ‘por Hernando Cortés me ocurren al sentido las militares fatigas de... Julio César... Pero los de Hernando Cortés en un mundo nuevo ó tan apartadas provincias de Europa, é con tantos trabaxos...’ This reference is from Part II of Oviedo’s work. Part I was published in the sixteenth century, containing Books 1-19 and the *Libro de naufragios*, which is known as Book 50 (Cf. Introduction note 39). Part II and Part III were not published until the mid-nineteenth century.

³⁷ Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, 69: ‘Y a lo que señores dexis, que jamas Capitanes Romanos de los muy nombrados han acometido tan grãdes hechos como nosotros, vuestras Mercedes dicen verdad. E aora en adelante, mediante Dios, diran en las historias, que desto harán memoria, mucho mas que delos antepassados.’ Cf. Lupher, *Romans in a New World*, 8-42.

³⁸ MacCormack, *On the wings of time*, 10-11.

sailors of his day; for between seeing and hearing there is a great difference.³⁹

While conquest signified the forcible annexation of peoples and lands, conversion meant incorporating the Amerindians into Renaissance Christianity, which was 'more a way of life than a well-defined set of beliefs and rites. It encompassed education, morality, art, sexuality, eating habits, and social connections, also orchestrating the calendar and important moments in life'.⁴⁰ Yet the Latin that most converted Indians would have been exposed to was minimal, mainly in the Catholic liturgy and prayers. Missionaries valued classical learning because Latin was the language of the church, but more importantly because it provided a basis for comprehending and 'reducing' native languages to grammatical rules.⁴¹

This use of classical learning for missionary and didactic purposes remains a common feature throughout the colonial period, but it also had a political dimension. For instance, Andrew Laird argued that the establishment of the Imperial College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in 1536 was not for the purpose of producing a native clergy, as is commonly believed, but 'to create a gubernatorial class imbued with humanist principles'.⁴² Franciscan chroniclers extolled the classical learning of their students, who were able to translate sacred and secular literature from Latin into Nahuatl.⁴³ The work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún and his disciples attests to the success of Tlatelolco; however the college eventually succumbed to insufficient funding amidst a polemic among religious orders about teaching Latin to Indians.⁴⁴ In Chapter 2 it will be seen that the Jesuit outlook on

³⁹ Oviedo, *Corónica de las Indias* 50.1 [Libro último de los infortunios y naufragios de casos acaecidos en las mares de las Indias, yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano, f. 163v]: '[Y]o me vi en la mar en tal termino que pudiera cō mas experiencia ppria temer y entender los peligros della que plinio informado por sus libros o por marineros de su tiempo: porque de verlo a oyrllo ay mucha desproporcion y diferencia.' See MacCormack, *On the wings of time*, 141.

⁴⁰ Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 56.

⁴¹ Keith Percival, 'Nebrija's Linguistic Oeuvre as a Model for Missionary Linguistics', in *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* [Variorum Collected Studies], (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15-29. Originally published in Elke Nowak, ed., *Languages Different in All Their Sounds. Descriptive Approaches to Indigenous Languages of the Americas, 1500-1850* [Studium Sprachwissenschaft / Beiheft 31] (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1999).

⁴² Laird, 'Teaching of Latin to the native nobility in Mexico', 122.

⁴³ Ibid., 133.

⁴⁴ Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, *El pensamiento renascentista español*, (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1985 [1981]), 20. Ostensibly the fear was that Indians would fall into heresy if they engaged in exegetical studies.

educating the Guaraní in Paraguay was similar to that of sixteenth-century missionaries in New Spain: they provided members of the native elite with some instruction in Latin as preparation for occupying administrative posts.

Also as in Mexico, the collaboration of educated Indian elites in Paraguay was important in the production of Guaraní literature, as they were involved in translating, printing and illustrating texts. An example is the *Sermones and exemplos en lengua guarani* (1727) by the *cacique* Nicolás Yapuguay, printed in the mission of Santa María la Mayor. This hybrid text consisted of sermons in Guaraní, each beginning with a Latin title, and followed by Spanish explanations attributed to Father Paulo Restivo (1658-1740).⁴⁵

With the foundation of pontifical universities and the arrival of the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, creoles and Spaniards became the main recipients of classical learning. Some Indians continued to be accepted at universities and colleges. For instance, several Indian names appear in the list of students at the Real Colegio Seminario San Carlos in Asunción (discussed in Chapter 3). The student population of the Jesuit University of Córdoba also seems to have been more diverse than previously thought; *mestizos* (and indeed, Europeans) often attended.⁴⁶ A study of classical references in Peramás' funeral orations in Chapter 1 shows that in the 1760s the creoles of the College of Monserrat (attached to the University of Córdoba) effectively segregated its pupils from 'undesirable' persons, which possibly included those of mixed race. An aspect of classical learning therefore is its status as an instrument of colonial power and as a defining characteristic of an elite social status that was jealously defended. At this point it is worth pausing to examine the nature of Jesuit education and the culture from which it emerged.

⁴⁵ Barbara A. Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 81-82. Another collaboration between Yapuguay and Restivo was the *Explicacion de el catechismo en lengua guarani* (1724), which famously contained a table of kinship degrees among the Guaraní in order to explain what kinds of marriage were lawful or unlawful (pp. 106-120).

⁴⁶ Javier Francisco Vallejo, *Die spanisch-amerikanische Jesuitenuniversität als gesellschaftlicher Knotenpunkt* (Berlin: Freie Universität, 2016). Unpublished PhD dissertation.

4. *Scholastics, humanists, and Jesuits*

Based on the 1548 blueprint for the college of Messina by Jerónimo Nadal, the definitive *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 enshrined the Jesuit progression from the ‘lower classes’ (grammar, humanities and rhetoric) to the ‘higher faculties’ of philosophy and theology.⁴⁷ Enrolment in Jesuit colleges was consistently higher in the lower disciplines; most students would never complete the full six to seven-year course.⁴⁸

Beyond the *Ratio*, Jesuit education also included activities such as theatre, which was prominent but not integrated into the curriculum as such.⁴⁹ Furthermore, most Jesuit schools implemented a ‘truncated’ version of the *Ratio*.⁵⁰ Regarding the sciences, more important than the *Ratio* perhaps was knowledge acquired and disseminated by means of correspondence throughout the college network, in a ‘geography of knowledge’ of global proportions.⁵¹

The implication is that despite their impressive contributions in practically all fields of knowledge, including literature and science, the most direct impact of Jesuit activity on the wider population of Europe and the Americas took place in relation to the teaching of grammar (i.e.: Latin) and rhetoric. Chapter 4 explores the holdings of the Jesuit library of Asunción and their place within the *Ratio* and other pedagogical manuals of the eighteenth century. Here the *Ratio* remains important because the calls for reforms of classical learning in Spain and Spanish America are characterised precisely by emphasising continuity with the spirit and injunctions of the *Ratio*.

⁴⁷ Allan P. Farrell, trans., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970). Online at <<http://www.bc.edu/sites/libraries/ratio/ratio1599.pdf>>

⁴⁸ Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 380.

⁴⁹ John W. O'Malley, S.J., ‘How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education’, in Vincent J. Duminuco, S. J., ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 70.

⁵⁰ John W. O'Malley, S.J., ‘From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present: A Humanistic Tradition?’ in Vincent J. Duminuco, S. J., ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 138.

⁵¹ Steven J. Harris, ‘Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge’, in John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 209-240.

Research into Jesuit education reflects current emphasis in Renaissance scholarship on distinguishing between programme and practice. Previously scholars such as Eugenio Garin and even Paul Grendler relied primarily on treatises by humanists, who sought to differentiate themselves from the scholastics by dubbing the latter as elitists, exaggerating their propensity for memorisation and repetition. As the Jesuit historian John O'Malley explained, humanists generally believed that reading classical literature would form upright character and devoted citizens, so that 'the combination of eloquence and commitment to the public good would be the unwavering ideal of rhetorical, or humanistic education through the centuries.'⁵² These ideals were tested in the new grammar schools.

The question which long occupied scholars of the Italian Renaissance was how different scholastic and humanistic methodologies actually were. The ground-breaking work of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine questioned the extent to which humanism actually delivered its promises by means of a case-study of the school of Guarino of Verona (1374-1460).⁵³ Robert Black's work on textbooks and student glosses in Italy revealed that much memorisation and drilling did take place, in line with Grafton and Jardine's thesis.⁵⁴ Both 'scholastic' and 'humanist education' require further explanation, since both found their way into Jesuit pedagogy, and the characteristics of the debate between scholastics and humanists echoed well into the eighteenth century, including in Spanish America.

Scholasticism is a medieval creation that emerged with the rise of universities in the twelfth century. It could refer to a philosophy based on the study of Aristotle through medieval commentators such as Saint Thomas Aquinas. The term also presupposed 'school', in reference to the university system, which organised students into classes and determined the progression from lower to upper levels, a practice still in use today. Unlike the seven liberal arts of the

⁵² John W. O'Malley, S.J., 'From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present', 130.

⁵³ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

⁵⁴ Robert Black, *Humanism and education in medieval and Renaissance Italy: tradition and innovation in Latin schools from the twelfth to the fifteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). In Chapter 1 Black discussed the historiography of Italian Renaissance education, including an assessment of Grafton and Jardine.

medieval period, the university curriculum was arranged into introductory subjects and higher faculties of philosophy and theology. Learning took place through a variety of exercises, including *disputationes*, debates where each side dissected arguments, making further distinctions for each subject.⁵⁵ Ultimately devoted to developing skills for the legal and medical professions, dialectics (the art of argumentation), was one of the hallmarks of scholasticism, and the target of humanist criticism. While the subject of grammar remained the cornerstone of both scholastic and humanist education, the latter advertised its emphasis on rhetoric (the art of persuasion) rather than dialectics.

The term ‘humanism’ itself did not exist in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but was coined by nineteenth-century German intellectuals. In a 1945 article Paul Oskar Kristeller first articulated his influential definition of ‘humanist’ by emphasising the original meaning of *umanista* in vernacular Italian, where it was a colloquial expression for a teacher of Latin or Greek. Kristeller’s humanism (*studia humanitatis*) included the subjects of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy (ethics). Here humanism is mostly understood as a scholarly movement, not a philosophy that broke radically with the medieval past and ushered in modernity.⁵⁶

Hans Baron’s notion of ‘civic humanism’ has some bearing on this thesis. First articulated in 1928, Baron argued that the writings of humanists ensured that notions of free speech, self-government and political participation survived amidst the rise of absolutist states in Europe. Baron’s analysis centred on the figure of Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), whom he presented as a patriotic Florentine. More recent scholarship has questioned Baron’s thesis and focused instead on the contradictions within Bruni’s work, revealing Bruni more as a rhetorician than as a republican ideologue.⁵⁷ Yet ‘civic humanism’ remains a useful concept. As

⁵⁵ For a synthesis of academic life in the University of Paris see Olga Weijers, *A Scholar’s Paradise: Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris* (Studies in the Faculty of Arts. History and Influence) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

⁵⁶ For a comparative assessment of Kristeller and his main opponent Eugenio Garin see Christopher Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin’s Legacy* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 16-57; James Hankins, ‘Two Twentieth-Century Interpreters of Renaissance Humanism: Eugenio Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller’, *Comparative Literature* 23 (2001): 3-19.

⁵⁷ James Hankins, ‘The “Baron Thesis” after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* no. 2 (1995): 309-338.

James Hankins suggests, it could be taken more generally to refer to a 'style of thought' coming from antiquity (mainly Cicero) that the study of letters would inculcate good morals among elites and help reform society.⁵⁸ In this sense Baron's ideas of 'civic humanism' can be expanded beyond Florence or the Italian Renaissance. As discussed further in this section, civic humanist goals were also appropriated by the Jesuits. In fact, Chapter 1 will show that Peramás expressed the value of classical learning in Córdoba by stating that it educated the leaders of the republic, encouraged virtue, and benefitted the whole of society.

Kristeller ascribed the bitterness between humanists and scholastics more to professional rivalries than to philosophical differences.⁵⁹ Still, humanists themselves clearly saw differences. Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406–1457) 'explicitly linked medieval grammar to scholastic doctrine' and sought to correct Latin usage by referring to ancient texts that were being edited or rediscovered at the time.⁶⁰ Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), no outsider to the scholastic system, nonetheless defined himself as a Platonist 'in contradistinction to what he saw as the failure of the scholastic method and Aristotelian philosophy to achieve the true goals of moral and religious education.'⁶¹ As the translator of Plato's works into Latin, and as a philosopher in his own right, Ficino was crucial to the transmission of Platonic thought in early modern Europe.⁶² It is more than likely that the Jesuit Peramás used Ficino's translations and commentaries when composing his treatise that compared Plato's *Republic* to the Guarani missions of Paraguay, which is analysed in Chapter 2.

The Renaissance dispute between humanists and scholastics had an important afterlife. Ficino's concern that university culture of his day seemed

⁵⁸ Hankins, 'The "Baron Thesis" after Forty Years', 330.

⁵⁹ Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Renaissance,' *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), 346–374. Reprinted in Paul O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956), 554–558.

⁶⁰ Keith Percival, 'Renaissance Grammar', *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* [Variorum Collected Studies], (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 74. Originally published in Albert Rabil, Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, vol. 3: *Humanism and the Disciplines* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 67–83.

⁶¹ James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, Vol. 1 (Leiden/New York: E.J. Brill, 1990), 272.

⁶² On Ficino's impact on European philosophy, music, medicine, and other fields, see the collected essays in Michael J. B. Allen et al., eds., *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

indifferent to strengthening religious truth seems to have struck a special chord among Jesuits.⁶³ While the first Jesuits studied at the University of Paris in the 1530s and saw much to commend the scholastic system, they did inherit humanist concerns over speculative scholastic philosophy. Even Francis Xavier in India, or Jerónimo Nadal, the founder of the first Jesuit college in Messina in 1548, criticised the excesses of scholastic speculation.⁶⁴ Jesuits with Platonist tendencies in particular had much in common with the humanists.⁶⁵ For instance, writing in exile, the Jesuit Juan Andrés y Morell (1740-1817) commended Ficino's exegesis of Plato, stating that Ficino 'never devolved into insubstantial and capricious subtleties as did those of the scholastics but . . . rather, aimed at acquisition and understanding of the true wisdom of Plato and Aristotle'.⁶⁶

Jesuit education was rooted both in the exercises of scholasticism as well as the tenets of humanist pedagogues. As O'Malley explained, Jesuits arrived in Paris at the time when the curriculum of the humanists entered universities, at the precise moment when, in the words of Grafton and Jardine, the *studia humanitatis* became the 'humanities'. Jesuits saw humanistic and scholastic education as complementary; the humanist system informed the rules of the *Ratio* for the lower classes, with emphasis on poetry, history and oratory as central to cultivating eloquence.⁶⁷ The humanist aim to promote good character (*pietas*) through the study of classical literature also became an essential feature of the Jesuit educational system. *Pietas* correlated with their mission to promote *Christianitas*: the colleges would produce good Christian leaders, who would in turn benefit the rest of society with their virtue. Education became an act of mercy.⁶⁸

⁶³ See especially Susan Byrne, *Ficino in Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

⁶⁴ Gabriel Codina, S.J., 'The "Modus Parisiensis"', in Vincent J. Duminuco, S. J., ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 37-38.

⁶⁵ Byrne, *Ficino in Spain*, 6-8.

⁶⁶ Juan Andrés, *Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura* Vol. 5 (Parma: Nella Stamperia Reale, 1794), 529: '*Questi studj, benchè talvolta versassero in questioni di parole, non terminavano come gli scolastici in ghiribizzi, ed in sottigliezze insussistenti, ma tendevano a procacciare la vera intelligenza di Platone e d'Aristotele.*'

⁶⁷ O'Malley, 'How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education', 56-74.

⁶⁸ O'Malley, 'From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present: A Humanistic Tradition?' 127-144. O'Malley argued that it was Erasmian *pietas* that informed the Jesuit aims of education even though Erasmus is not acknowledged in the *Ratio*. The more visible presence of Cicero in the *Ratio* however should not be downplayed. His influence in education, missionary practice and even doctrine was extensive. See Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Tópicos sobre Cicerón en México*

In addition, the Jesuits saw the scholastic system as desirable to form their own members in philosophy and theology, with due attention paid to logic and dialectics. Thus, the definitive version of the *Ratio* of 1599 established a system based on classroom exercises, rewards, and public acts. Aquinas stood as the cornerstone of the Jesuit philosophy and theology courses. The formidable presence of Jesuits in intellectual, cultural and political debates from the order's creation until their suppression in 1773, and beyond, attests to the overall success of their higher education.

After the Jesuit expulsion criticism of scholasticism resurfaced across the Atlantic, but with different connotations. In a study of the eighteenth-century University of San Carlos in Guatemala, John Tate Lanning noted that diatribes against scholasticism were seen as part of a programme of reform. Liberals within and without the university cloister agreed that science should be taught in Spanish, as the use of Latin 'veiled the ignorance and bolstered the pretentiousness of the learned'. This group contended that Latin encouraged the artificial, retarded the growth of modern literature, impeded the study of science, and encouraged dishonesty, since Castilian had clandestinely taken over in the classroom anyway.⁶⁹ They stated that 'the imposition of a mutilated, barbarous Latin – and not Latin itself – and neglect of the mother tongue . . . caused backwardness and "turned the bravest stomach"'.⁷⁰ These were common humanist arguments.

But this was no mere repetition of the Renaissance polemics. The San Carlos reformers also accused the university of wishing to 'merely enjoy an empty advantage over the common people.'⁷¹ Classical learning, here seen as closely allied to the scholastic system, functioned as a symbol of power, distinguishing elites from the 'common people'. In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, knowing Latin and

(Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1976); Andrew Laird, 'Orator, sage and patriot: Cicero in colonial Latin America' in Gesine Manuwald, ed., *The Afterlife of Cicero* [Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplements], (London: forthcoming); Robert A. Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism* [Volume 64 of Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁶⁹ John Tate Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), 29-33.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 37.

⁷¹ Ibid., 42.

having access to a university education would increase one's cultural capital.⁷² Access to classical learning was required if one wanted to move up in the world.⁷³ The Guatemalan reformers therefore begrudged the cloister for perpetrating this system of privilege.

Nonetheless, the Guatemalan liberals in the late eighteenth century did not call for abolishing Latin. In fact, they advocated reading classical texts in their original language with explanations in Castilian, stating that 'Latin would repel less when used to get some idea of such illustrious poets as Virgil, Horace and Lucretius.'⁷⁴ The 1770s reform of the Archbishop-Viceroy Antonio Caballero y Góngora in Bogotá proposed that students read Phaedrus' *Fables*, Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander*.⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter 3, these texts were precisely those recommended and printed as part of the Jesuit educational programme devised by Francisco Javier Idiáquez, the rector of the College of Villagarcía (Spain) between 1755 and 1762. Overall, while Spanish Americans were emphatic in their rejection of Jesuit teachings after 1767, it seems that they retained their classical curriculum, though not acknowledging the Jesuit influence.

To conclude this section, the uses of classical learning in the Jesuit college culture of the Rio de la Plata until 1767 must be framed by their appropriation of humanist ideals, even if these ideals were not effectively attained. Ideals are part of self-definition. Indeed, Jesuits became committed to the aim of educating the leaders of society, both for the common good and also the salvation of souls. Chapter 1 in particular shows how these humanist ideals were articulated in the context of eighteenth-century Córdoba and acquired new significance as part of a creole identity that situated itself both in continuity and competition with ancient and modern European culture. This kind of *Überbietung* transcended the literary sphere and became part of the political language in the colonial period, and more

⁷² Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (New York/London : Routledge, 1992), 85.

⁷³ Françoise Wacquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London: Verso, 2001), 218-229.

⁷⁴ Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos*, 42.

⁷⁵ Ricardo del Molino García, *Griegos y romanos en la primera república Colombiana: La antigüedad clásica en el pensamiento emancipador neograndino (1810-1816)* (Bogotá, D.C.: Academia Colombiana de Historia/Editora Guadalupe: 2007), 101-107.

explosively, in the republican projects of the independence period, discussed in Chapter 4.

5. *Jesuit exile and literary controversies*

The exile of the Jesuits of Spain and the Americas in Italy generated a proliferation of Latin literature which contributed to an articulation of creole identity. The exiles received a small pension from the Spanish government which they complemented with other kinds of work. Some worked as doctors; others were sought by the elite as private tutors and as librarians. They quickly made an impact in Latin and vernacular literatures; Juan Andrés for instance participated in the *Accademia delle scienze, lettere ed arti* of Mantua.⁷⁶ Many turned to writing, among them José Manuel Peramás, whose exile production is the subject of Chapter 2. More famous is Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* (1782), which builds on a range of ancient authors to describe the nature and country life of New Spain.⁷⁷ Another example of note is Diego José Abad's *De Deo, Deoque Homine Carmina Heroica* (1773), a didactic epic about Christ which also reflected the author's interests in philosophy and science.⁷⁸ The exiles were however not welcomed with open arms.

Italian Jesuits had been reluctant to accept their brethren in the first place because of the envisaged financial strain. In addition, the classical learning of these Jesuits came to be contested as part of a literary debate which amounted to an interpretation of the meaning and origin of the Renaissance and Spain's place within it. Specifically, Italian Jesuits accused the Spaniards of introducing a decadent Latin into Italy.⁷⁹ A heated polemic developed between Girolamo Tiraboschi and Francisco Xavier Lampillas (1731-1810). Tiraboschi argued that the decline of the Italian Renaissance was due to the Spanish domination of the

⁷⁶ Niccolò Guasti, 'Rasgos del exilio italiano de los jesuitas españoles', *Hispania Sacra* 61 (2009): 257-278.

⁷⁷ Andrew Laird, *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana* (London: Duckworth, 2006), 45-46.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁹ Miguel Batllori, *La Cultura Hispano-Italiana de los Jesuitas Expulsos; Españoles, Hispano-Americanos, Filipinos, 1767-1814* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966), 38.

country since the sixteenth century – a position that was taken further in the nineteenth century by Jacob Burckhardt, who saw the Aragonese crown of Naples and the 1527 Sack of Rome by Charles V's forces as events which killed the Renaissance. These views still have some weight among Renaissance scholars today.⁸⁰

Lampillas vehemently denied the charges of Tiraboschi by composing a four-volume history of Spanish literature. Other ex-Jesuits such as Mateo Aymerich and Tomás Serrano also defended Spanish letters.⁸¹ These Jesuits located the cultural rebirth of Spain in the fifteenth century, followed by a true flowering of arts, sciences and literature in the sixteenth century, which came to be known as the *Siglo de Oro* ('Golden Age'). Eventually this term replaced 'Renaissance' in Spanish historiography. That the works of the Spanish Renaissance were unknown, argued Lampillas, was because most people no longer read Latin in the eighteenth century.⁸² Classical learning here had important implications in national historiographies.

The roots of this dispute lay in the historical conditions of the Italian peninsula, which had long been divided. The resentment against the Spanish occupation of Naples and the southern part of the peninsula fuelled what later came to be known as the 'Black Legend', which Chapter 2 deals with as the backdrop to Peramás' epic on Columbus, *De invento novo orbe* (1777). Also at the heart of the polemic between Lampillas and Tiraboschi lay the legacy of the *questione della lingua* ('the language question'), a debate among sixteenth-century Italian humanists over the status and proper use of Latin and the vernacular.

⁸⁰ Byrne, *Ficino in Spain*, 210-216.

⁸¹ Francisco Xavier Lampillas, *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola...* (Genoa: Felice Repetto 1778). It was quickly translated into Spanish, with two parts appearing in 1783 and 1789. Cf. Mateo Aymerich, *De vita et morte Latinae linguae paradoxa philologica* (Ferrara: J. Rinaldi, 1780); Tomás Serrano, *Super iudicio Hieronymi Tiraboschii de M. Valerio Martiale, L. Annaeo Seneca, M. Annaeo Lucano [...]* (Ferrara: J. Rinaldi, 1776). Peramás, Lampillas, Aymerich and Juan Andrés had all been associated with Cervera as students or professors, which illustrates the role of Cataluña as one of the main centres of Jesuit humanism in the eighteenth century Iberian world.

⁸² Ottavio Di Camillo, 'Interpretations of the Renaissance in Spanish Historical Thought,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 352-65. This parallels the nineteenth-century lack of interest in the Latin literature of the Italian Renaissance, discussed in Christopher S. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 1-15.

By about 1525, Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* had set the dominant view that the Italian vernacular was the natural continuation of Latin. The dispute thereafter centred on which Italian dialect to adopt as the principal vernacular. Bembo's preference for archaic Tuscan, based on Petrarch and Dante, eventually ousted the other two options, modern Florentine and a hybrid based on the varieties used in the most important courts in Italy.⁸³ The 'irruption' of Spanish Jesuits in the late eighteenth century made Italian Jesuits feel insecure enough that they rushed to present themselves as the legitimate heirs of antiquity, whether in Latin or the Italian vernacular, a view which Spanish and Spanish American Jesuits contested.

For instance, Diego José Abad (1727-1779), born in New Spain, engaged in a polemic against the Venetian Giambattista Roberti.⁸⁴ Abad concurred with Roberti that 'knowledge of Latin can transcend time and space, and constitutes the basis for scientific, humanistic and theological understanding'.⁸⁵ However, in his *Dissertatio ludicro-seria* (1778) Abad refuted the opinion that only Italians could speak and write Latin correctly. Many foreigners, he argued, had already in antiquity cultivated Latin with more diligence and purity than the Romans themselves, such as Terence and Quintilian. If one followed Roberti, said Abad, one might as well dismiss the likes of Erasmus, Vives and Vanière, who were not born in Italy.⁸⁶ Thus Abad 'recovered the right of all nations to feel themselves heirs and continuators of Latin culture'.⁸⁷ As Ignacio Osorio Romero explained, Abad sounded the clarion for Spanish America: he made 'a solid attempt to claim ownership of . . . European culture, and show the world that . . . Americans were equal to Europeans and could create works of art and science which rivalled or even excelled them'.⁸⁸

⁸³ Christopher Celenza, *The Lost Renaissance*, 145-147. The most comprehensive study is still Maurizio Vitale, *La questione della lingua* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1978 [1960]).

⁸⁴ Diego José Abad, *Dissertatio ludicro-seria* ... (N.p.: 1778). Reproduced in Arnold Kerson, ed. 'Dissertatio Ludicro-Seria', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991): 357-422.

⁸⁵ Andrew Laird, 'Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit constructions of a Mexican legacy,' in *Renaissanceforum* 7 (2012): 240.

⁸⁶ Abad, *Dissertatio*, 4-8.

⁸⁷ Osorio Romero, *La Tradición Clásica En México* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma/Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, 1991), 56.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

These reactions by Spanish American Jesuits also addressed a particular set of concerns about the intellectual ability of the people of the New World in view of the slanders of Enlightenment thinkers such as Cornelius de Pauw, William Robertson and the Abbé Raynal. Battlori summarised the four points criticised by these European Enlightenment thinkers: the colonising effort of Spain, the missionary labour of Jesuits, the nature of the continent, and intellectual ability of Indians and creoles.⁸⁹ As Antonello Gerbi, David Brading and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra explained, Jesuits in exile helped forge the rhetoric of what Brading called *creole patriotism* to refute, among other things, the European view that creoles grew degenerate and effeminate in America, and so were unable to produce works of merit.⁹⁰ In this sense Jesuits were drafted into the propaganda wars organised by the Count of Floridablanca, who often subsidised and encouraged Jesuits to write on these themes.⁹¹ Chapter 2 interprets the exile work of José Manuel Peramás partly as a reaction to De Pauw and Raynal, and so concurs with Battlori's claim that he was an important advocate of 'Americanism' in the eighteenth century.⁹²

Therefore, classical learning played an important role in the development of a creole American identity as expressed in Jesuit exile literature: it gave them the tools needed to articulate arguments against European criticisms and the opportunity to claim the classical tradition on a universal scale that included Spanish Americans.

⁸⁹ Battlori, *La Cultura Hispano-Italiana de los Jesuitas Expulsos*, 581. The theme persisted still in 1814, as evidenced in an oration commemorating the Buenos Aires revolution by Gregorio Funes; *Oración patriótica*, p. 17: 'Ciudadanos legisladores, desmentid á la España haciéndole ver, que los Indios no son animales imperfectos, y si persistiese en su manía, tratadlos de manera, que cultivando su espíritu, os concedan la gloria que sabéis convertir bestias en hombres.'

⁹⁰ Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900*, J. Moyle, trans. (Pittsburgh/London: Media Directions Inc., 1973); David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 428-432; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 26-54.

⁹¹ Niccolò Guasti, 'Rasgos del exilio italiano de los jesuitas españoles', *Hispania Sacra* 61 (2009): 257-278.

⁹² Battlori, *La Cultura Hispano-Italiana de los Jesuitas Expulsos*, 353, 584.

6. 1767-1810: Changes in classical learning

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 classical learning continued to be associated with the classroom, though the ability to read and write in Latin entered a period of definite decline, as argued in Chapter 3. In his recently published dissertation, Ricardo del Molino García argued that the expulsion of the Jesuits did not mark a loss of classical knowledge but rather facilitated access to hitherto restricted books and freed the intellectual environment from the traditional ideas of the old order.⁹³ This is not entirely true. Jesuit education in the Rio de la Plata, as in all their provinces, had been free (with the exception of the expensive boarding college of Monserrat in Córdoba).⁹⁴ Chapter 3 addresses some of the innovations in Jesuit courses of philosophy from well before 1767. More importantly, by comparing the nature of classical learning before and after the Jesuit era, we find that a classical learning characterised by direct and extensive reading of classical texts did decline after 1767.

The Jesuits had not monopolised classical learning, but their expulsion had a concrete result in the dissemination of their book collections. Jesuit libraries in New Granada became the foundation for new public libraries or seminaries, as was the case in Asunción. Molino García described a lively world of buying and lending books, so that in the decades after the expulsion the private libraries of figures such as Antonio Nariño (1765-1823), were continuously growing and actually being used collectively. Evening gatherings or *tertulias* became sites of self-education, functioning as spaces for reading and discussing translations of classical texts as well as Enlightenment works.⁹⁵ Therefore, classical learning had become, more than before 1767, a secular elite enterprise.

A more popular image of Rome also began to be disseminated with the appearance of newspapers, reaching a larger range of people beyond the classroom. In the 1780s the printing press of the Jesuits of Córdoba was

⁹³ Molino García, *Griegos y romanos en la primera república Colombiana*, 107.

⁹⁴ For a survey of the historiographical debates on the supposed conservatism of Jesuit education and on the influence of Jesuit thought on independence movements see Enrique Villalba Pérez, *Consecuencias educativas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de América* [Biblioteca del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad 8] (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid/Dykinson, 2003), 175-188.

⁹⁵ Molino García, *Griegos y romanos en la primera república Colombiana*, 100-115.

transported to Buenos Aires, where it was renamed the ‘Real Imprenta de Niños Expósitos’ because part of its revenue was destined for the home of abandoned children. There it produced the Rio de la Plata’s first official newspaper: *El Telégrafo Mercantil, Rural, Político, Económico e Historiográfico* (1801-1802). The first issue outlined the objective of the newspaper to promote literature and the sciences, thus ‘to inform the readers of all the objects, progress and new discoveries in history, in antiquity, in natural production, Arts, Sciences and Literature.’ Its foundation was prompted by an insulting remark allegedly made by the cabildo of Mexico that dismissed the literature and deeds of conquerors in the Rio de la Plata. It singled out three bibliographies (‘catalogue of heroes’) which failed to acknowledge the region, including the *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental* (1629) by Antonio de León Pinelo, the *Teatro eclesiástico* (1649) by Gil González Dávila, and the *Varones ilustres* (1639) of Fernando Pizarro y Orellana. The newspaper assured its readers that it would address this ‘deficiency’, expressing a grievance that seemed to echo the proto-nationalist sentiments of the Jesuits writing in exile in Italy:

We are now starting a new century... Do not be afraid because your literature has until now been regarded with indifference over the globe, that a pen offended your merit, or that catalogues of heroes failed to include you, because from this day mine will compensate for this deficiency. It will show both worlds that you are not, as they say, sterile, but very fruitful trees. The joyful days of Saturn will return. Your glories, both ancient and present, will shine brightly. From my newspaper you will emerge more beautiful than the Sun in between the clouds, to be admired by all nations.⁹⁶

El Telégrafo Mercantil and other newspapers in Buenos Aires around 1800-1810 shared an enthusiasm about all things Roman, as shown in a survey by José Mariluz Urquijo. Articles were sprinkled with Latin references which gave moral lessons. Readers were instructed on the deeds of famous women, including

⁹⁶ *El Telégrafo Mercantil* (1801) no. 1, pp. 2-3: ‘Pues vamos á dar principio á un Siglo nuevo... Sí, no os aterre que vuestra Literatura se haya mirado asta aqui con indiferencia en el Glovo, ni que una pluma ofensidiese vuestro merito, y que otras dexasen de escribiros en el Catálogo de los Heroes, porque desde hoy la mia, subsanará esa deficiencia, mostrando á entrambos Mundos, que no sois como dicen, arboles esteriles, sino muy fecundos. Volverán, volverán los alegres días de Saturno. Se esclarecerán vuestras antiguas, y presentes glorias; y mas hermosos que el Sol de entre las nubes, saldreis en mi Periódico, para ser admirados de todas las Naciones.’

Lucretia and Porcia, the daughter of Cato. Consuls received due praise, as did emperors like Justinian. Even if something about Rome appeared negative, it was still possible to extract a positive lesson or use it to criticise current society. For example, *El Telégrafo Mercantil* scolded elite ladies who, like Roman women, relied on slaves for all domestic chores.⁹⁷ The *Porteño* newspaper-reading public thus learned a kind of popular Roman history.

Chapter 4 takes the republican project of Paraguay after 1811 as a case-study that shows the presence of a classical tradition across elite and popular cultures, particularly as expressed in political speeches, literature and newspapers. Classical learning remained very much an elite domain, but it acquired an explosive force through these mediums as creoles competed in proposing their vision of the relationship between antiquity and modernity – which at its heart was a debate about the relationship between Spain and the Americas.

In Buenos Aires, popular poetry portrayed creole insurgents as emulating or even surpassing the deeds of the Romans. Several feverish Argentine pens spoke of a ‘New Rome’. For example, the poet Esteban de Luca prophesied that ‘our land shall be another Rome’.⁹⁸ Another poet, Cayetano Rodríguez, saw the lawyer Mariano Moreno as a hero greater than any Roman. Indeed, he announced that in the future Americans would ‘in greatness, power, science, and fate, surpass the best times of the Athenians, Greeks and Romans’.⁹⁹ In 1816, the pro-independence newspaper *El Observador Americano* urged readers to study history by focusing on famous republics like Rome in order to ‘make the appropriate application of such readings to our situation’.¹⁰⁰ A classical tradition as deployed here allowed creole patriots to maintain a link with European heritage, or indeed, to reaffirm their belief in the universal legacy of antiquity, at the same time as they rejected Spain.

Teodoro Hampe Martínez and Wolfgang Haase have contended that some patriots, who espoused a radical rejection of classical education, viewed

⁹⁷ José Mariluz Urquijo, ‘El Río de la Plata y el ambivalente modelo de Roma (1800-1820),’ in *Diritto Pubblico Romano e Constitutionalismo Latinoamericano, 1, Río de la Plata* (Sassari: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 1990), 14-15.

⁹⁸ Qtd. in Mariluz Urquijo, ‘El Río de la Plata y el ambivalente modelo de Roma (1800-1820),’ 20.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 18-19.

‘continued participation in the classical tradition as the expression of undesirable dependence on the former European colonial powers’.¹⁰¹ On the contrary, patriots frequently embraced classical references to describe political situations. For instance, in 1813 newspapers in Buenos Aires celebrated their freedom from the ‘oppression of the Tarquins’, making a direct comparison between the Spanish monarchy and the Roman kings who were expelled by virtuous Romans such as Brutus.¹⁰²

Likewise, the prominent Uruguayan writer Andrés Lamas resented subordination to European culture but still referred to antiquity for examples. For instance, he exalted the ‘Homeric day of 1810’ when independence was first proclaimed.¹⁰³ However, Lamas saw it as his mission, and that of all loyal patriots, to break the cultural chain which still held them in thrall to Spain.¹⁰⁴ As Lamas explained, the cultural dependency on Europe during the colonial period, and the civil wars that followed independence, prevented the emergence of a literature as an expression of Uruguayan society.¹⁰⁵ Lamas’ rejection of classical literature only makes sense if one understands that Lamas - as he lamented - was searching in vain for a national literature in Uruguay. He asked: ‘Does this literature answer any of our needs? What would it engender in the hearts of our people but catastrophe? One must flee from the desperation of Byron as much as the fatality of Sophocles’.¹⁰⁶ The apparently negative view of the classics by Lamas must be understood as part of his doubts of the edifying value of European literature as a whole for the new American nations, even while he continued to use comparisons with antiquity to structure his own ideas.

The main proponents of classical learning continued to be the clergy. For example, in 1848 the Professor of Eloquence and History at the Seminary of Guadalajara (Mexico), J.M. Cayetano Orozco, noted approvingly that reading the classics would keep young people away from ‘seductive romantic literature’

¹⁰¹ Hampe Martínez, *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*, 8; Haase, ‘America and the Classical Tradition’, xii.

¹⁰² Mariluz Urquijo, ‘El Río de la Plata y el ambivalente modelo de Roma (1800-1820),’ 24.

¹⁰³ Andrés Lamas, ‘Introducción’ in Adolfo Berro, *Poesías de Adolfo Berro*, 2nd ed. (Montevideo: Librería Nacional de A. Barreiro, 1884), 15.

¹⁰⁴ Nelson García Serrato, *Francisco Acuña de Figueroa: Primer Poeta Nacional* (Montevideo: n.p.: 1941), 122-123.

¹⁰⁵ Lamas, ‘Introduction’, 26-30.

¹⁰⁶ Osorio Romero, *La Tradición Clásica en México*, 34.

(novels), adding that they should not read or translate obscene texts from antiquity.¹⁰⁷ Orozco rejected scholasticism and propounded direct reading of texts. The canon he proposed included Phaedrus, Cicero, Horace and Virgil, and below them, Nepos, Sallust, Tacitus and Livy - again, the ghost of the Jesuit curriculum haunts this proposal.¹⁰⁸ Like the patriots of the independence era, Orozco emphasised emulating the moral qualities of the ancients, but in this case classical learning would serve as a stabilising force, not as an impetus for revolution: 'The study of humanities makes us live peacefully, away from the revolutionary turmoil which shakes the foundations of our unfortunate Republic.'¹⁰⁹ Classical learning could support arguments in favour of conservatism as well as revolution.

In summary, between 1767 and 1815 Spanish Americans continued to write about themselves as either equalling or surpass the ancients, in a tradition that, as we have seen, goes back to the conquest and indeed the Renaissance. Through education and through religion, colonial society acquired a deeply embedded classical culture. Moreover, Spanish Americans referenced classical authors to further their own cultural and ideological agendas, even if these same agendas partly aimed to undermine the self-proclaimed supremacy of European culture. For some patriots, classical learning became identified with European colonial powers that should be rejected, while it remained an anchor to stability for others. Overall, the classical tradition was ubiquitous throughout the colonial and early independent history of Spanish America, but was never static. This thesis contends that analysing changes in the transmission and uses of classical learning can shed light on intellectual trends which helped shape creole identity and the beginnings of national identity in the new independent republic of Paraguay.

¹⁰⁷ Osorio Romero, *La Tradición Clásica en México*, 60.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 1: José Manuel Peramás’ *Laudationes Quinque* (1766), Jesuit classical learning and local creole ambitions

Introduction

The following two chapters explore the articulation of local creole identity and broader American and Jesuit identities by means of an analysis of the writings of the Jesuit Jose Manuel Peramás (1732-1793). Chapter 1 analyses the ways in which Peramás used his classical learning in a set of five orations, the *Laudationes Quinque* (1766), in order to praise the College of Monserrat of Córdoba and its founder Ignacio Duarte y Quirós. It is argued that the themes of the *Laudationes* reflect both the pride of the local elites in their Spanish heritage and their ambition to distinguish themselves for the rest of the colonial society of Córdoba by displaying a high level of classical learning. Chapter 2 surveys Jesuit notions of statehood in Peramás’ exile writings and particularly in the prose text of *De administratione Guaranica*, which compared the missions of Paraguay to the ideal state in Plato’s *Republic*. In both the *Laudationes* and *De administratione Guaranica* Peramás used his classical learning to reinforce the Jesuit ideal of two separate republics of creoles and Indians.

In these two chapters the sites of Peramás’ interest, the College of Monserrat and the Guaraní missions are studied as ‘symbolic element[s] of the memorial heritage’ of the Jesuit community of Paraguay before and after exile.¹ I here apply Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire*, following the approach first outlined

¹ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans., vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), xvii.

by the Argentine classicist Marcela Suárez, who discussed the College of Monserrat as a ‘site of memory’ and ‘monument’ of the collective memory of the city of Córdoba.² I would go further than Suárez and argue that Peramás presented the colleges and missions mainly as monuments of the *Jesuit* enterprise in Spanish America. Whether Peramás, a foreigner, personally shared in the pride of the elites of Córdoba is not the subject of these chapters, although Jesuits in general were known to become attached to particular localities.³ Rather, both chapters suggest that the College of Monserrat and the Guarani missions are presented by Peramás as ‘sites of memory’ that are both Jesuit and local in nature. Thus in the *Laudationes Quinque*, Peramás presented topics of regional interest to his audience within an underlying framework of praise of the Society of Jesus’ educational achievements throughout Spanish America.

Biography and Works

José Manuel Peramás was born in Mataró, Cataluña in 1732. He studied at the Jesuit college of Manresa and then at Cervera, known at the time for its progressive tendency in reconciling the ‘New Science’ of Descartes, Locke and Gassendi with scholastic theology.⁴ In 1755 Peramás set sail for America. He continued his theological studies at Córdoba, where he was entrusted with writing the official reports on the missions of Paraguay, the *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Paraquariensis*. Ordained in Córdoba in 1758, he spent the following three years at the mission of Guarani Indians at San Ignacio Miní. He was recalled to Córdoba to teach rhetoric and moral theology, an activity he continued until 1767. His first published work dates from the year before the expulsion, the *Laudationes*

² Marcela A. Suárez, ‘*Antiquorum exempla*: memoria poética y retórica en las *Laudationes Quinque* del P. Peramás,’ in *Bibliographica Americana* 1 no. 1 (2004): 1-9; Marcela A. Suárez, ‘Montiserrati nomen collegio aeternum esto: elogio, memoria e identidad en las *Laudationes Quinque*,’ in *Bibliographica Americana* (2007): 1-6.

³ The connection between the establishment of residences and colleges and the Jesuit tendency to become tied to particular localities is noted in Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11.

⁴ Alain Guy, *Historia de la filosofía española* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1985) describes the liberal Escuela de Cervera and its luminaries, including Peramás’ fellow students Mateu Aymerich and Francisco de Lampillas who joined him in exile (218-219).

Quinque (1766). Like other exiled Jesuits, his major works were published in Italy. He died in Faenza in 1793.⁵

The production of his works can be divided into three phases: an early period (pre-1767), a middle period (1767-1777) and a later period (1777-1793). The early period saw the only publication by Peramás in Spanish America, the *Laudationes Quinque* (1766). This set of five orations was composed between 1762 and 1766 to commemorate the founder of the College of Monserrat in Córdoba, the creole priest Ignacio Duarte y Quirós (c.1650-1703). As well as praising Duarte, the *Laudationes* celebrated Jesuit educational achievements and Latin learning in Spanish America. The ‘middle period’ is marked by works dealing with the exile: a ‘double-diary’ of the events after the expulsion, written first in Spanish and then in Latin, the *Annus patiens sive ephemerides quibus continetur iter annum Jesuitarum Paraquariorum* (1768-9), and the elegy *Finis Anni Patientis* (1770). The middle period also included an epic poem *De invento novo orbe inductoque illuc Christi Sacrificio*, ‘On the Discovery of the New World and the Introduction there of Christ’s Sacrifice’ (1777).⁶ The Columbus epic could be considered a further reflection on exile as it allowed Peramás to journey back to America in his imagination and revisit America in the age of the conquest. The final period witnessed the publication of the most openly apologetic works by Peramás, in which he countered the hostile arguments of Enlightenment *philosophes*. These include a series of biographies of Jesuit priests *De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum paraguaycorum* (1791) and yet another series, *De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum* (1793). The latter included as an introduction the prose text of *De administratione Guaranica comparate ad Rempublicam Platonis commentarius*, which compared the missions of Paraguay to the ideal state in Plato’s *Republic*.⁷

⁵ *DHCJ* III, 3081; *CJPP* no. 1081/1430.

⁶ An additional poem celebrating the installation of Domenico da Marchesi as Faenza’s diocesan bishop is wrongly believed to be lost. The *Adveniente Faventiam Episcopo...*, ‘On the Bishop’s arrival in Faenza’ (1787), can be located in the Vatican Library [Stamp.Ferr.II.712 (int.48)].

⁷ The reception of Peramás in the Americas itself awaits comprehensive study. Interest in his exile works is suggested by the presence of the Columbus epic and the biographies in library collections. For instance, the circulation of a volume of *De invento novo orbe* has been traced in nineteenth-century Mexico; see Maya Feile Tones, ‘New of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic...Part II’, *IJCT* 22 no. 2 (2015), 229-234. A copy of the epic also seems to have reached the Rio de la Plata itself and is currently found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina

The Early Period (pre-1767): The Laudationes Quinque

Córdoba and Jesuit Education in the Rio de la Plata

At the time of the expulsion there were 457 Jesuits in the province, including 81 *rioplatense* creoles (17%), 295 Spaniards (65%), 2 Peruvians (0.4%), and others from diverse European nations: 53 Germans (12%), 17 Italians (4%), 4 Englishmen (0.8%), two Portuguese (0.4%), one Greek, one Frenchman, and one Belgian.⁸ The expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish territories in 1767, among other things, removed the major teaching force from the Rio de la Plata. The *Laudationes Quinque* thus provides a unique insight into colonial Córdoba on the eve of the expulsion, reflecting its proud status as the intellectual centre of the region.

The Paraguayan Jesuits became most famous in Europe for their thirty missions to the Guaraní Indians, yet their presence in colonial life as teachers extended to all corners of the area irrigated by the River Plate, the *Rio de la Plata*. In addition to Córdoba, which boasted the only university to the south and east of the Andean highlands in the eighteenth century, the Jesuits set up colleges in all the major towns and cities. These are indicated in the map below, with the exception of San Juan and Mendoza, which were located slightly to the west and southwest of the area depicted on the map:

(Buenos Aires), which also has in its possession three copies of *De vita et moribus sex*. The *De vita et moribus tredecim* is listed in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Fondo Antiguo). A comprehensive search through South American libraries would probably unearth more copies, while a number are already accounted for in North American libraries.

⁸ José A. Ferrer Benimeli, *Viaje y peripecias de los jesuitas expulsos de América: (El Colegio de Córdoba de Tucumán)* (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes: 2009). Accessed 30 October 2014 at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc73782>.



Figure 4 - Map of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay and neighbouring lands, in Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* Vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Ganeau, Bauche [et] D'Houry, 1756). Reproduced with permission from the George Peabody Library Rare Books Collection, Johns Hopkins University. Colleges are shown numbered in the following order: Buenos Aires (1), Santa Fe (2), Córdoba (3), San Luis (4), Ríoja (5), San Miguel de Tucumán (6), Salta (7), Tarija (8), Asunción (9), Santiago del Estero (10), Corrientes (11) and Montevideo (12).

The *Real Colegio Convictorio de Nuestra Señora de Monserrat* was founded on 1 August 1687 thanks to an endowment of all his lands and property by the creole priest Ignacio Duarte y Quirós (c. 1650-1703). It opened its doors to students in 1695 and thereafter functioned as a residential school attached to the University of Córdoba.⁹ In 1766 the newly inaugurated printing press at the university published

⁹ See Maria Cristina Dichiará, *El Colegio Nacional de Monserrat. Una breve historia* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1992).

among its first works a set of five orations in honour of Duarte, the *Laudationes Quinque*.¹⁰

Scholarship on the orations is limited. They were reedited at the University of Córdoba in a 1937 facsimile which included an introduction by Guillermo Furlong, the leading twentieth-century historian on the Jesuits in the Rio de la Plata. In 2005 Marcela Suárez published a Latin edition with Spanish translation and notes. This is the edition used throughout the thesis. The orations were originally ascribed to Bernabé Echenique, a scion of one of Córdoba's elite families.¹¹ In the 1930s and 1940s Guillermo Furlong argued that the *Laudationes* were in fact the work of José Manuel Peramás, a view which is now the consensus.¹² The complete title on the frontispiece of the 1937 facsimile reprint reads as follows:

CLARISSIMI VIRI D. D. IGNATII DUARTII ET QUIROSII COLLEGII
MONSSERRATENSIS CORDUBAE IN AMERICA CONDITORIS,
LAUDATIONES QUINQUE, QUAS EIDEM COLLEGIO REGIO
BARNABAS ECHANQUIUS O. D.

Five Orations to the most illustrious Ignacio Duarte y Quirós, founder of the College of Monserrat in Córdoba of America, which Bernabé Echenique dedicated to the same Royal College.

The volume includes a dedication to the students of the college, a prologue, and the five orations, which can be summarised as follows: (I) the nobility of Duarte and his virtues, prefigured in the family's coat of arms; (II) the immortality of Duarte and his love of wisdom; (III) his riches and public virtues (IV) a comparison with Ignacio de Loyola; and (V) a brief history of educational establishments from antiquity until the present day, among which the College of San Ildefonso in Mexico stood out for its high level of Latin.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the history of the printing press at Córdoba see Guillermo Furlong, *Orígenes del arte tipográfico en América, especialmente en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 152-163.

¹¹ The dedication reads: 'Collegio Regio Monserratensi Barnabas Echaniquius felicitatem.'

¹² Ricardo Rojas and Guillermo Furlong led the discussion over authorship of the orations. Rojas argued in favour of Echenique, whose name was stated in the dedicatory piece. Furlong contested that the author of the *Laudationes Quinque* was Peramás, based on the testimony of Peramás' biographers and the 1757 index of the library of Córdoba, which listed the work as *Pr. Iosephus Peramas Laudationes 5 in honorem D.D. Ignatii Duartii*. Thus, Furlong conjectured that the entry was added between 1757 and 1767, although he was unable to explain why Peramás did not figure as the author in the first place. Cf. Chapter 1 note 32.

Peramás' intended audience in the *Laudationes* were the creoles of Córdoba. By adopting the orator persona of a member of the local elite, Bernabé Echenique, Peramás could praise Córdoba's regional monopoly of education by the 1760s.¹³ Nevertheless, particularly in the fifth oration, its college is depicted as one of the prestigious institutions that, like those in Mexico and Peru, adds to the lustre of Spanish American letters – and to their teachers, the Jesuits. Duarte and his college are presented as part of the larger educational enterprise of America. Altogether, this suggests that the glory of the creoles of Córdoba is proportional to the degree in which their college and society managed to imitate or indeed surpass European (Spanish) models. Creole pride and identity thus revolves around two themes in the *Laudationes*: their nobility due to ancestry from Spanish conquerors, and the excellence of their Latin learning, which rivals Europeans ones.

The First Oration: Ignacio Duarte and the origins of creole nobility

The first oration began with the premise that nobility possesses a certain immanence which is passed down to descendants, for which Peramás relied on the authority of the poet Horace:

*Fortes creantur fortibus, et bonis [...]
nec imbellem feroces
progenerant aquilae columbam.*¹⁴

The strong are begotten by the strong and good; ferocious eagles do not
beget the unwarlike dove.

The allusion to Horace and the passage that follows illustrate Peramás' use of classical *exemplum*, as Suarez observed.¹⁵ Peramás alluded to the 'heroic times' when inclination to virtue distinguished nobles from the plebeians. Virtuous men

¹³ Whether Peramás himself delivered the orations or wrote it for the student Echenique is an interesting question, and one that has thus far been unanswered.

¹⁴ Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.29-32. Peramás omits line 30 and the mention of young horses inheriting virtue from their sires:

*Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis:
Est in iuvenis, est in equis patrum* (30)
*Virtus neque imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilae columbam.*

¹⁵ Suárez, 'Montiserrati nomen collegio aeternum esto', 5.

of old, explained Peramás, included those who combined eloquence and wisdom in either peace or war, for instance, by persuading wandering people to settle or by constraining excited multitudes.¹⁶ Furthermore, in a euhemeristic passage Peramás explained that in ancient times men or women achieved divine status due to their virtues. Duarte, so to speak, was on his way to becoming like a god:

*[H]os Respublica praeclaris suis decretis nobilitabat, ad honores, arasque prevehebat, et . . . appellabat Deos, veluti aratricem Cererem, Mercurium eloquentem, doctam Minervam et fortem Herculem . . . Ex virtute igitur nobilitas coepit: et ex nobilitate quaedam egregiis viris flamma crescit in pectore, quae sedari non potest ante, quam praestantem maiorum virtutem expresseris imitando.*¹⁷

Those the Republic ennobled with its distinguished decrees, and would bear them to honours and altars, and . . . called gods, like Ceres the tiller, the eloquent Mercury, wise Minerva and strong Hercules . . . therefore from virtue comes nobility: and from nobility a certain flame grows in the breast of eminent men that cannot be appeased before imitating the excellent virtue of ancestors.

The inclusion of Mercury as divine due to his eloquence is significant. With Ceres, Minerva and Hercules, these gods symbolise the importance of *eloquentia* in all aspects of social life. Cicero had advocated the power of rhetoric to civilise, an ideal which was also taken up by Renaissance humanists.¹⁸ The orator who combines eloquence and wisdom to serve the republic remains very much part of Peramás' argument throughout the orations. Duarte the creole priest can be seen as a Ciceronian orator whose virtues have public expression and repercussions, mainly through the foundation of the college. Indirectly, this is praise of the Jesuit enterprise in America. Peramás himself and the Jesuit order unsurprisingly fit Cicero's description of the civilising orator, as virtuous men who knew how to speak and persuade, and how to civilise.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Laudatio I* (page 2): 'Nam si quis arte quaedam. dicendi et eloquentia dispersos homines, et vagantes more belluarum in unum lucum coniunxerant; si quis ingenio et prudentia fregerat incitatae multitudinis impetum; si quis amplificaverat regni fines, aut ab eis hostes expulerat; si quis belli, domive, virtute sapientiae supra caeteros eminebat; hos Respublica praeclaris suis decretis nobilitabat, ad honores, arasque prevehebat.'

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Don Paul Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Colonial Spanish America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 8.

¹⁹ Cf. Cic. *Inv.rhet.* 1.2; Cic. *De or.* 1.8.33; Cic. *Sest.* 42.

It is no coincidence that Peramás placed Caesar on a par with Cicero and Terence in the prologue; it is because of Caesar's writing style. That is, the ancients who displayed wisdom and eloquence in either peace or war earned nobility, becoming even divine. As we have seen, Peramás resorted to Horace to demonstrate that this nobility is passed down to descendants. Yet Peramás acknowledged that he could not explain *how* this happened. Like some force that comes from the Sun and the stars to earth, philosophers could observe it but had difficulties explaining it.²⁰ Therefore, Peramás decided to work backwards, arguing that 'the force of nobility would not allow their descendants to be forgetful of their ancestors.'²¹ Again, following the example of the ancients, Peramás listed places where memories of ancestors are represented: statues, portraits, monuments and coats of arms. At that point his audience would have seen Peramás gesture towards the coat of arms of college, which he told them, was also the emblem of Ignacio Duarte. They would then listen to a kind of *ekphrasis* or verbal description of a visual representation by focusing on its parts. The coat of arms contains the key to Duarte's nobility.



Figure 5 – Coat of arms of Duarte (Museo Provincial, Córdoba)
<http://heraldicaargentina.blogspot.co.uk/2012/09/escudo-del-colegio-nacional-de-monserrat.html>

²⁰ *Laudatio I* (page 2): 'Scilicet ut Philosophis certum est a Sole et Astris in subiectum orbem virtutem quandam venire et vim: at ut venit, ut subit intima terrarum haec vis, et virtus; vix explicant.'

²¹ *Ibid*: 'Nisi id malimus dicere explicari vim hanc intimam ab extima illa altera, et patente, quae minores mairoum immemores esse non patitur.'

The coat of arms and creole stars

The coat of arms displayed a star, two crossed keys, a cypress tree, four roses underneath the tree, four lilies (or *fleurs de lis*), and eight crosses on the border. A helmeted figure is positioned above the blazon. Peramás claimed that these symbols prefigured Duarte's virtues since the times of his ancestors, evoking the examples of the shields of Achilles and Aeneas:

*Quibus ego symbolis propositas fuisse ostendam, et praenuntiatas Duartii virtutes, et facta praeclarissima iam inde ab maiorum suorum temporibus: veluti olim in Homeric illo scuto futura Achillis facinora, et Aeneae in altero illo Virgiliano expressa continebantur.*²²

I will demonstrate that the virtues of Duarte and his distinguished deeds were presented and prefigured by these symbols already since the time of his ancestors: as once the future deeds of Achilles were contained in the Homeric shield, and Aeneas' represented in the Virgilian one.

The Homeric episode of *Iliad* Book XVIII described the making of Achilles' shield by the god Hephaestos (Vulcan). It presented cities at peace and war, scenes of celebration and harvests, and the four seasons. The Ocean surrounds these scenes, literally, as the rim of the shield. Literary scholars and classicists have interpreted the Homeric shield as an allegory of the themes of the epic, such as the paradox and mutual dependence between war and peace, law and disorder, etc.²³ So Peramás' statement was rather misleading; the shield did not depict Achilles' future actions *per se*. Aeneas' shield, also crafted by Vulcan, showcased a future history of Rome culminating with the victory of Augustus at the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.), thus providing the admiring Aeneas with a promise that his tribulations would one day culminate in victory. Neither shield portrayed the deeds of the heroes explicitly, but rather as found within a grander scheme of history. In this sense, the coat of arms of the Duarte might tell a larger story than Ignacio Duarte's or indeed his ancestors.

²² *Laudatio* I (page 3).

²³ For treatments of the Homeric and Virgilian shields see Oliver Taplin, 'The Shield of Achilles within the "Iliad"' in *Greece & Rome* 27 no. 1 (1980): 1-21; D. A. West, 'Cernere erat: The Shield of Aeneas' in S.J. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 295-304.

For instance, the star was said to symbolise Duarte's ancestors, for it represented 'the distinguished and illustrious lineage of the Duarte in Spanish memorials and of the Indies'.²⁴ By using the symbol of the star, Peramás could reach out to an audience that prided itself on its European ancestry. The star was in a way both European and American, as Peramás explained:

*Ad extremum, cum haec natura stellarum sit, ut tametsi videantur mori, non permeant tamen: sed ubi veterem orbem illustrarunt, pergunt occidendo hunc Novum orbem illustrare: sic maiores Duartii, ubi splendore suo impleverunt Europam, lumen intulerunt in Americam: et Ignatius noster, etsi visus est occidere, tamen igne illo suo, suis nimirum virtutibus, pergit nos, et Provincias has omnes illustrare.*²⁵

It is the nature of stars that, while they seem to die, they do not. Once stars have illuminated the Old World, having seemed to die, they continue, even as they set, to illuminate the New World. Likewise Duarte's ancestors took their light to America once they had filled Europe with splendour, and our Ignatius, who seemed to die, continues to illuminate all these provinces with his fire and certainly his virtues.

The new constellations discovered in the Southern Hemisphere had long attracted the attention of Early Modern thinkers and astrologers. By the late sixteenth century however, those stars were held to have a degenerating influence on the people of America, including Indians and creoles. Spanish American creoles countered by arguing that the beneficial effects of new stars showed God's providential design for America.²⁶ Peramás however suggested that the stars of the New World are the same as the ones of the Old, only they shine longer in America. The star thus seems to function as a symbol of creole culture, which for Peramás meant inheriting European culture. It symbolises the creole's claim to nobility due to their ancestors' deeds.

Peramás stated that the same star inspired Duarte with virtues such as moderation, chastity, temperance and prudence, so that 'he would shine by his

²⁴ *Laudatio I* (page 4): 'clarum et illustre in Hispanicis, et Indicis monumentis Duartiorum genus repraesentavit.'

²⁵ *Laudatio I* (page 5).

²⁶ Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, 'New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650', *The American Historical Review* 104 no. 1 (1999): 33-68.

own light rather than . . . with that of his ancestors'.²⁷ In the first oration therefore there also seemed to be a concern to demonstrate one's own merit. Peramás would show that Duarte had certainly done enough to deserve his own nobility, but this tendency towards nobility after all came from his European ascendants.

Conquistador ancestors

Peramás had a particular set of Duarte ancestors in mind: the ones who came with the conquistadors. The glory of the Duarte did not stem from deeds accomplished in Europe, but specifically, from their participation in the conquest: *in facinore post hominum memoriam excelso, et arduo, qualis Americae conquisitio fuit*, ('the highest and most arduous exploit of which there is memory, such was the procuring of America').²⁸ In the first oration, Peramás explored how the memory of the conquistadors' exploits was represented in their coats of arms. He found similarities between the imagery of Ignacio Duarte's coat of arms and that of the Duarte and Quirós families in Spain. In addition, Peramás related how in 1508 Queen Juana granted similar symbols and insignia to the conquistadors of the island of Hispaniola (Dominican Republic and Haiti). The Duarte, claimed Peramás, were among the first colonists of that island. Santo Domingo's coat of arms boasted the keys of Compostela and a star; Puerto Rico a forest, and Santa Cruz, a white cross. All of them were allowed to use the royal *fleur de lis*. Peramás then reported the Queen's reasons for conferring such insignia:

Quod Coloni illi, Hispani Heroes, plurimis, maximisque laboribus quaesierint, invenerint Insulam Dominici, et post Insulam Novum Orbem, Novum Caelum, quod STELLA illa refert; quod novam Evangelio Ianuam aperuerint, et Trophaea Crucis amplificaverint; id CLAVIS, id CRUX notat; quod campum immensum laurorum, palmarumque, sprete mortis Cupresso, metuque detexerint, id SYLVA monstrat; quod candori et

²⁷ *Laudatio I* (page 4): 'ut sua et propria mallet luce, quam aliena, vel maiorum splendore nitescere.'

²⁸ *Laudatio I* (page 12). *Conquisitio* is a rare word in classical Latin, where it is usually translated in the sense of 'procuring' or 'levying'. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.84; Liv. 23. 32.19; Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 3.5. *Conquisitio* as 'conquest' might be considered a hispanism by Peramás, indicating the shift of meaning to reflect the experience of 1492. Cf. Chapter 1 note 63.

*puritati Romanae Fidei, adiugendis Ecclesiae barbaris, consuluerint, id reddunt LILIA.*²⁹

The Star because the colonists, Spanish heroes, with many great labours sought and found the Dominican Island, and afterwards a New World and a New Heaven, which the Star represents; the Key and Cross because they opened a new Door to the Gospel and increased the trophies of the Cross; the Forest because they revealed an immense field of laurel and palm trees once the Cypress of death and fear had been removed; and the Lily because they cared for the beauty and purity of the Roman Faith in leading barbarians to the Church.

The virtues of Duarte, symbolised in his ancestors' emblems, had a direct impact on the salvation of the people of Córdoba. For instance, the crossed keys illustrated his concern for the salvation of others. Duarte requested permission to say Mass at his country home for his slaves, and in this way 'he saved many [souls]'.³⁰ However, Peramás considered the founding of the College of Monserrat to be a public – and more useful – demonstration of Duarte's virtue. Thus, the crossed keys in the coat of arms function as a metaphor of the college's mission to educate priests who would take the sacraments to the people of Spanish America. Peramás explained that 'with these same [keys] the college would be opened to innumerable youths, who trained in sacred rites and prepared for the care of others, may receive these keys by the very Peter, which open the doors of the Sacraments and Heaven infinitely'.³¹ For Peramás, praise of Duarte was equivalent to praise of the College of Monserrat (and Jesuits). The focus of the orations gradually shifts from the former to the latter, so that by the fifth oration Peramás will dwell almost exclusively on the role of the college and education in the New World.

²⁹ *Laudatio I* (page 11). Peramás' acknowledged source is Juan Diez de la Calle, *Noticias Sacras, y Reales de los dos imperios de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1646).

³⁰ *Laudatio I* (page 5): '*erat Dominus, esset et parens, et Parochus: quo ille plurimis saluti fuit, atque aliis per Baptismum Ecclesiam aperuit, aliis Caelum, quod sibi ipsi post Baptismum occluserant.*'

³¹ *Laudatio I* (page 5): '*et eisdem aperturum postea Collegium hoc adolescentibus innumerabilibus, qui sacris initiati, et prae aliorum curae praefecti, a Petro ipso CLAVES istas acciperent, quibus referarent (sic) infinitis Sacramentorum valvas, et Caelum.*'

The Second and Third Orations: Education for the good of the Republic and the Ignatian aims of Education

Duarte's wisdom shone most when displayed in public, that is, when he donated his property to found the College of Monserrat. In the second oration Peramás compared Duarte to Alexander the Great, Charlemagne and Columbus, whom he considered the greatest hero of them all.³² These heroes achieved immortality through public displays of virtue. Duarte was not only himself wise, but also founded a college to form wise men: 'an eternal seat of wisdom . . . whence so many wise doctors came, come, and everyday come forth.'³³ The college thus stands as a monument of Duarte and of Córdoba.³⁴

In addition, the people of Córdoba were aware that the college functioned as a source of cultural capital, for the College of Monserrat provided Córdoba with priests and magistrates trained at home instead of depending on other provinces or the Spanish metropolis. In the third oration Peramás described public sentiments before the college was founded, and when previous attempts at establishing a university had failed. In the end, Duarte's deed is praised as of benefit for the whole republic.

First, Peramás stated that the lack of education had been leading to the corruption of youth, following the Jesuit (and humanist) assumption that linked education and virtue.³⁵ He reported the complaints of the people of Córdoba in a passage that I will deal with in two parts. The first part is as follows:

Haec... omnium querela: Corrumpi otio iuventutem, occupari omnia barbarie, silere artes, nullum sapientiae locum esse, peregrinari sacra studia, teneri ab stultis insolenter omnia, sacra ipsa intermitti, quod nullus esset vel tantis opibus, qui posset, vel tanta in Rempub[lica] caritate, qui

³² Laudatio II (page 2): '*Heroibus omnibus antepono, Christophorus Columbus ille Maximus, qui nostram hanc Americam aperuit.*' This mention of Columbus provides an intertextual connection to another of Peramás' works, the epic *De invento novo orbe* (1777), where Peramás developed his admiration of Columbus. This also strengthens the case for ascribing the authorship of the *Laudationes* to Peramás, in addition to the bibliographical evidence adduced by Furlong. Cf. Chapter 1 note 12.

³³ Laudatio II (page 3): '*sapientiae domicilium illud aeternum posuit, . . . unde tot Doctores sapientissimi prodierunt, et prodeunt quotidie, prodibuntque.*'

³⁴ See Marcela Alejandra Suárez, 'Montiserrati nomen collegio aeternum esto', 1-6.

³⁵ Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 13.

*vellet Collegium erigere educandis adolescentibus, tradendis bonis artibus...*³⁶

This ... was the complaint of everyone: Youth was corrupted by spare time; all was taken over by barbarism; the arts were silent; there was no place for wisdom; the sacred studies emigrated; all things were managed contrary to custom by inept people; sacred services themselves were interrupted, because no one had so many riches or so much love of the Republic that he might be able or wish to build a College for the education of adolescents and training in the good [liberal] arts...

This fascinating passage combines and superimposes the personal and public spheres, much in the same way that praises of Duarte work at both the personal and public levels in the *Laudationes*. That is, Peramás argued here that a lack of education was damaging for each individual as well as the smooth running of society. This was a negative phrasing of the objective of education according to the Jesuits. A Jesuit education emphasised both intellectual formation and inculcation of good customs with a spiritual objective in mind, as a humanist education with a Christian ethos. As John O'Malley commented, the influence of Quintilian could be felt in the emphasis on the formation of mind and character rather than on exclusive acquisition of knowledge.³⁷ Thus, chapter 16 'Ad Bonos Mores' of Loyola's *Constitutions* (1558) explained that along with knowledge, students should acquire good customs at university. The document then listed exercises of piety such as daily Mass, confession at least once a month, and listening to sermons on feast days.³⁸

The College of Cordoba could pride itself in following the Jesuit agenda. In the Prologue Peramás had praised the customs and intensity of literary studies at the college. He added a description of the students' daily schedule to impress his audience with the discipline and high quality of college life. During normal schooldays students meditated for half an hour in the church at dawn, followed by Mass. After breakfast they listened to explanations about the previous day's lessons and then went to their own classes at the University. Individual study

³⁶ *Laudatio* III (pages 3-4).

³⁷ John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 214.

³⁸ *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* 4.6.1: 'Diligenter curetur, ut qui litteras discendi gratia ad Universitates Societatis se conferunt, simul cum illis bonos ac Christianis dignos mores addiscant: ad quod multum juverit, si omnes singulis saltem mensibus semel ad confessionis sacramentum accedent; si missam quotidie, concionem singulis diebus festis (cum ea fiet) audient.'

finished at lunch time, after which students had time for a *siesta*. Lessons took place again in the afternoon, and then students congregated in front of the Virgin's shrine for evening prayers. Individual study followed until dinner time, after which they were allowed some recreation. The day ended with a short lesson in the church, and examination of conscience.³⁹ The schedule of the interns of the College of Monserrat thus reflected the two 'secular' aims of a Jesuit education: intellectual and moral or character formation.

Peramás' point, voiced through the people of Córdoba, was that lack of education resulted in a lack of individual virtue. This in turn led to a crisis in the political and social order. Without a proper education, these Spanish American creoles descended into a 'barbarism' unworthy of their ancestry. In fact, an explicit comparison is made with Peru in the rest of the 'complaint' passage:

*[V]el hoc solo nomine beatius esse longe proximum Peruvium Tucumania, non quia auro, argentoque felix supra fidem esset; sed quod Hispana ibi pubes, Hispani adolescentes, Hispano digna sanguine disciplina, in Collegiis educarentur. Plenum erat forum, plena templa, plenae privatae domus harum querelarum.*⁴⁰

For this sole cause neighbouring Perú was by far more fortunate than Tucumán, not because it had gold and silver beyond belief; but because Spanish boys, Spanish youths, were educated there in the Colleges with a discipline worthy of Spanish blood - The forum, the churches, and the private homes were full of these complaints.

The adverse effects of ignorance here reach all areas of colonial society. The most precious capital of the Spanish American provinces would therefore not be gold or silver but their colleges and universities. This is a pragmatic view: colleges produced the best citizens (*qui formandis optimis civibus*) and leaders. In the Prologue Peramás had listed the kinds of civil and ecclesiastical authorities that had graduated from the College, including priests, bishops, governors, lieutenant governors and local councillors.⁴¹ This is also typically Ignatian, for 'a good, solid Christian leader . . . could exert a positive influence on the social, political, and cultural environment . . . and, by means of this, to allow for [his] spiritual

³⁹ Prologue (page 2-3).

⁴⁰ *Laudatio* III (page 4).

⁴¹ Prologue (page 2).

progress.’⁴² For Ignatius, educated people in positions of power could influence their neighbours and thus improve society.

Ultimately Jesuits believed that education constituted a tool for salvation. In his *Spiritual Exercises*, the rock of Jesuit spirituality, Ignatius de Loyola had stressed that ‘man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul. The other things on this earth are created for man to help him in attaining the end for which he was created.’⁴³ In the same spirit, the instructions to the rector of the Collegio Romano, the *Regulae Rectoris Collegii Romani* (1551) explained that the rector was to keep a watchful eye so that students progressed in both learning and Christian virtue, always reminding students that their studies aimed to give glory to God and help tend their soul.⁴⁴ Yet it is interesting that in the *Laudationes Quinque* Peramás emphasised the secular aspect of education over the spiritual one when referring to creole communities – it is a different matter when he discusses the Indians of the outlying provinces, as will be discussed shortly.

The Fourth Oration and the Language of Disease

The fourth oration cemented the arguments of the second and third, which emphasised the centrality of education to enable the republic to function and flourish. Duarte evidently followed Loyola in considering colleges necessary for secular as well as spiritual welfare. In the fourth oration, which sketches a comparison between the virtues of Ignacio de Loyola and Ignacio Duarte, Peramás explained that ‘after [Loyola] had built houses for his own [novices] he wished to erect Colleges also for others, having thought that in this way he would help youths and their cities more’.⁴⁵ Interestingly, Peramás gave the specific case

⁴² Francesco Cesareo, ‘Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century’, in Christopher Chappel, ed., *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press: 1993), 20.

⁴³ Louis J. Puhl, ed., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1951), 12.

⁴⁴ Qtd. in Ladislaus Lukács, *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu* Vol. 1 (1540-56), page 66: ‘*Tutti si sforzino di haver la intentione recta non cercando le lettere per altro fine che della divina gloria et agiuto delle anime...*’

⁴⁵ *Laudatio* IV (page 8): ‘*sed cum iam suis domos posuisset, Collegia etiam ponere alienis voluit, ratus, sic propius adolescentibus, propius urbibus subveniri.*’

of Germany, creating a parallelism between the situation in Protestant Germany and Spanish America. In both places Jesuit colleges were considered essential for political and religious stability.

Peramás recounted how Loyola founded the German College in Rome in 1552 with the intention of preparing future priests to convert Lutheran Germans. Loyola supported the college for a long time, incurring huge debt. In fact, a discouraged patron of the school advised Loyola to abandon a seemingly hopeless enterprise, but he replied that while he lived he would continue to work, beg and fight for the college's survival.⁴⁶ The reference to Germany establishes a parallel between Loyola's efforts in Europe and Duarte's in Spanish America.

According to Peramás, Loyola advised his companion Le Jay to work with German bishops to found colleges that would be the salvation of Germany by fighting the *Lutherana peste*, ('Lutheran plague').⁴⁷ Metaphors of disease to refer to heresies had been commonplace in patristic and medieval ecclesiology. Harro Höpfl has shown the implications of this language of disease in Jesuit political thought, for if heresy was considered a disease, it would have to be treated with medicine, surgery or quarantine. Punishment would be out of place, for the victims deserve to be pitied. In contrast, those who stubbornly persisted in their heretical views would be dealt with as enemies of the Church.⁴⁸ Peramás in this case spoke of heresy (Lutheranism) as a disease, caused almost by an impersonal agent. Spare time and ignorance were the main factors causing the sickness of Córdoba, not the devil or any active agent.⁴⁹ The solution to Córdoba's plight then lay in medicine, or education. Duarte wished to train priests to take light to the 'blind pagans' (*caecis Ethnicis*), who surrounded the city and the provinces. Most of all, Duarte worried about the creole youth:

⁴⁶ *Laudatio* IV (page 8). The anecdote is taken from Maffei's biography of Ignatius of Loyola; Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae qui Societatem Iesu fundavit Libri III* (Romae: Apud Franciscus Zannettum, 1585).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 64-73.

⁴⁹ The devil is not mentioned as a force in the *Laudationes*, which is similar to Peramás' view of the Indians as fallen into barbarism through ignorance and historical circumstances in the *De administratione guaranica*. The devil however is mentioned as having a hold over America in the epic *De Invento Novo Orbe*, where he is defeated by the arrival of Columbus and the Christian faith.

Dolebat, ingenuos⁵⁰ pueros temere per Urbem vagari, et otio diffluere⁵¹, et quod subigi cultura posset ingenium, id malis artibus corrumpi.

He was saddened to see free-born children of good families wandering aimlessly around the city, abandoned in their spare time, and their innate qualities which could be cultivated being corrupted by evil arts.⁵²

In addition, as Peramás explained, Duarte lamented that Spaniards who lived dispersed in the countryside attended more to material than spiritual things. Magistrates were corrupt and ignorant of the art of governing. There was even ‘something’ that Duarte wished to correct in priests, namely their ignorance.⁵³ The college, concluded Duarte (and Peramás), would provide the ‘public remedy’ to so many evils.⁵⁴

Therefore, one of the most patriotic duties of a citizen would be to found a college. Peramás explained that Duarte’s ‘love of the Republic’ (*Rempublicae caritate*), led him to found the College of Monserrat, and donate more than 35,000 pesos, his country estates, slaves, paternal home, furniture, books, liturgical objects, and works of art to the Patria and the common good.⁵⁵ Duarte was ‘an exceptional glory for the patria, and a singular example of all virtues’.⁵⁶ In the words of Livy, ‘prince of historians’: ‘there never was a greater or more venerable Republic, or with more good examples’.⁵⁷ Duarte, in devoting his riches and virtues to the service of the patria, merited to be ranked along virtuous Romans. In practice, his ‘riches combined with wisdom are more useful’: *divitias autem cum*

⁵⁰ ‘*ingenuus homo*’ could refer to someone of a certain or known father (Liv. 10.8.8; Hor.*Sat.*1.6.91). The use of the term to characterise free-born persons as delicate, as opposed to slaves who are inured to hardship, is found in poetry (Ov.*Tr.*1.5.72 and Mart.10.82.6). The use of the Latin term may thus refer to several characteristics of the adolescent elite population of Córdoba.

⁵¹ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.131.

⁵² *Laudatio* IV (page 9).

⁵³ Peramás recounted the scandalous act of a priest in Bogotá, who cut the sacred host with scissors because it did not fit into the monstrance for a procession. The problem was the priest’s insufficient theological knowledge, not a purposeful rejection of the belief in the divine presence (*Laudatio* V pages 30-31).

⁵⁴ *Laudatio* IV (page 9).

⁵⁵ *Laudatio* III (page 5-8).

⁵⁶ *Laudatio* III (page 10): ‘*ut veluti patriae decus singulare, et unicum virtutum omnium exemplum haberetur.*’

⁵⁷ *Laudatio* III (page 13): ‘*Nulla unquam Respublica nec maior, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit.*’ Cf. Liv.pref.11.

sapientia coniunctas multo utiliores.⁵⁸ We shall now turn to this concept of utility and how it illustrates Peramás' elitist concept of Republic.

Fifth Oration: *Utilitas* and Peramás' concept of Republic

The fifth oration, the longest of the five, hardly dwells on the figure of Ignacio Duarte. Instead, the focus is on the educational establishments of Spanish America. Peramás argued, as he already had in the third and fourth orations, that Duarte's most praiseworthy act was founding the College of Monserrat because it contributed to the secular and spiritual welfare of the American provinces. In addition, the fifth oration explicitly sets out to relate a sort of history of academic institutions in the Old and New Worlds and a demonstration of the excellence of Latin learning in America. Peramás' concept of republic and how he believed it should function in Spanish America is embedded in this discourse of the *utilitas* of colleges in Europe and America.

The overall thesis of the fifth oration is that 'these colleges were founded not only for the benefit of its pupils, but for the utility of the whole province and America': *Collegia ista, non ad vestram tantum . . . commoditatem, sed ad totius Provinciae, et Americae utilitatem conduntur*.⁵⁹ *Utilitas* is an important concept in the history of Jesuit political philosophy, with classical roots and humanist lineage.⁶⁰ As seen above, the practical implications of education were close to Ignacio de Loyola's heart. The term *utilitas* moreover appears extremely frequently in the fifth oration, and invites special attention. It was often mentioned in the encyclopaedic works of another Jesuit, Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809). This Spanish contemporary of Peramás argued that knowledge and science must have some practical use, which parallels Peramás' (and the Jesuit order's)

⁵⁸ *Laudatio* III (page 13). Peramás quoted *Eccl.* 7.11 to support his point: *utilior est, inquit, sapientia cum divitiis*. Emphasis is my own.

⁵⁹ *Laudatio* V (page 3).

⁶⁰ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.207; Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.8§24; Cic. *Off.* 3.30. Following the lead of Cicero, Petrarch made the link between the useful and the honourable, which became a common *topos* in Early Modern thought. From the sixteenth century onwards, Jesuits writing in opposition to Machiavelli argued for the union of the useful and honourable while still succeeding in politics. This alternative to Machiavellianism, known as 'reason of state', was most notably championed by Giovanni Botero in his *Della ragion di stato* (1589). On the contribution of Jesuits to reason of state see especially Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 84-223.

insistence on the benefits of education in forming society leaders.⁶¹ Indeed, the situation of all republics, argued Peramás, depended on the best instruction of youths:

Cum enim ex optima adolescentium institutione totus Reipublicae status pendeat; nec aliis utatur civitas Consulibus, Praetoribus, Ducibus, Sacerdotibus, caeterisque Magistratibus, quam quos a teneris annis⁶² praeceptorum cura instituit eidem iuvenes . . . Conditores autem Collegiorum sunt, qui, conquisitis⁶³ optimis morum, et artium magistris, positisque publicis domiciliis, iuvenes hos alunt, docentque: igitur Collegiorum Conditores, quotquot optimi sunt in Republica debentur Magistratus.⁶⁴

For the entire situation of a Republic depends on the best instruction of youths. The state does not make use of Consuls, Praetors, Captains, Priests and other Magistrates, other than those youths which it prepared with care from their tender years by teachers. . . Founders of colleges are those who, having gathered together the best teachers in customs and arts, and raised public residences, sustain and instruct young men. Therefore, as many excellent magistrates as there are in a Republic is due to founders of colleges.

Political language here draws from Roman institutions in a way that foreshadows the use of ‘consul’ to denote the new executive authorities of Paraguay after 1812, which is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.⁶⁵ In what followed Peramás resorted to three metaphors to illustrate the utility of colleges: the citadel, the harbour and the spring. Duarte’s service to his city and *patria*, as founder of the College of Monserrat, is thus invaluable:

Equidem sic existimo, nullum a cive maius civitati praestari beneficium posse; quam si arcem quamdam erigat, quo hostium pressa malis, iuventus confugiat: si portum et monstret, et aperiat, quem, tot expositi procellis, naufragiisque, adolescentes tuto intrent: si fontem denique deducat aliquem, unde in omnes partes, et membra Reipublicae sanguis, et vigor

⁶¹ Nicolás Perrone, ‘Un ilustrado español dentro de la Compañía de Jesús. Breves rasgos de la figura y la obra de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro S.J. (1735-1809)’, *VII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España* (UCA, Buenos Aires: 2010): 1-12. Out of 18 variations of the term *utilitas* in the *Laudationes Quinque*, 15 occur in the fifth oration (83%).

⁶² Cf. Verg.G.2.272: ‘in teneris’; Quint.Inst.1.2.13

⁶³ Peramás here uses *conquisitio* in the classical sense of ‘procuring’ or ‘gathering’. Cf. Chapter 1 note 28.

⁶⁴ *Laudatio V* (page 3).

⁶⁵ In his later works Peramás will also use Latin terms to designate magistrates – but this time of the Guarani missions. Cf. Chapter 2, note 136.

*influat:*⁶⁶ *atqui et hunc fontem, et portum istum, et illam arcem Collegia adolescentium esse, nemo erit tam iniustus rerum aestimator, quin videat, et quin dicat.*⁶⁷

I consider that no greater benefit can be given by a citizen to the community than if he builds a certain citadel where youth pressed by the evils of enemies may take refuge; if he indicates a harbour where all adolescents exposed to storms and the danger of shipwreck may enter; and if he leads them at last to a spring from whence blood and vigour flows into all parts and members of the Republic. No one can be so unjust a judge of things as to not see and assert that colleges of adolescents are this spring, this harbour and this citadel.

Colleges could be compared to a spring. According to this mixed-metaphor, the republic is like a body. Priests constitute the lifeblood of society, and are just as essential as secular magistrates to keep a community ‘alive’ and functioning. This parallels the concept of the ‘body politic’ developed in the wake of Platonic and Aristotelian political thought in early modern European thought.⁶⁸ Yet the most obvious precedent of Peramás’ metaphor probably lies in the biblical concept of the ‘mystical body of Christ’, which describes the Church as a body where its members are united by Christ, who is both the head and source of life through grace conveyed by the sacraments.⁶⁹ Peramás seemed to appropriate the language of the ‘mystical body’ to describe a republic, with the role of the priests and authorities in a society as equivalent to that of the grace of God within the Church. That is, the blood (the priests and magistrates) nourishes the members of the body (the people). As a result, Peramás’ focus is not so much on the members of the body/republic as the blood/elites which gives them strength. This suggests that Peramás’ concept of the republic in the *Laudationes Quinque* gives prominence to

⁶⁶ Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.39.94: ‘sanguis... influit’; Verg. *G.* 1.269: ‘rivos deducere’.

⁶⁷ *Laudatio V* (page 3). Cf. Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.1: ‘qui vero ita sese armat eloquentia, ut non oppugnare commoda patriae, sed pro his propugnare possit, is mihi vir et suis et publicis rationibus utilissimus atque amicissimus civis fore videtur’: ‘the man who arms himself with eloquence, not to attack the interests of his *patria*, but to fight for them, this man, I think, will be a citizen most supportive and well disposed to the purposes of the community as well as his own.’ Peramás seems to substitute here education for Cicero’s civic emphasis on rhetoric while retaining Cicero’s language of *utilitas*. A comparable appropriation of a classical-humanist text in a Spanish American context is Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora’s *Teatro de virtudes políticas* (1680), where the Mexican author cited the humanist Enrico Farnese to define a citizen as someone who lives for the *patria*, in this case, a Mexican *patria*; Brading, *The First America*, 363-365.

⁶⁸ See for instance John Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1975).

⁶⁹ Cf. *Ephes.* 4.4-13.

the role of elites, priests and secular authorities, while the rest of the people play a more passive role.⁷⁰

Peramás relied on two more metaphors to describe the role of colleges. The harbour and the citadel work similarly because they provide protection. As an example, Peramás related that Saint Benedict saw the decadence of fifth-century Rome and founded a country retreat where he received young noblemen.⁷¹ This parallels the perilous situation of creoles, for in what follows Peramás argued that Spanish American adolescents were in greater danger than their European counterparts due to the influence of ‘bad companions’.

The *utilitas* of colleges in the Old World

Part of the fifth oration surveyed the origins of colleges in Europe and America. For Peramás the former are the standard against which the latter are compared. Peramás justified his attention to colleges in the Old World with the following statement: *nec de Collegiis NOVI ORBIS potuimus apte dicere; quin ea e VETERE ORBE huc traheremus* (‘we could not aptly speak of colleges in the New World if we did not consider here those from the Old World’).⁷² First Peramás looked at ancient and medieval precedents. He surveyed the ‘colleges’ of the biblical Hebrews and early Christians in Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople. This is followed by mention of ancient Roman colleges of priests: the Roman augurs, and the Arval Brothers founded by Romulus. The Japanese and Chinese received special mention as being ‘above all other orientals’ (*supra caeteros orientales*) on account of their excellent schools. Moreover, Peramás emphasised the long relationship between education and the Catholic Church by referring to Charlemagne’s capitulary decree of 789, which ordered schools to be founded in every monastery and cathedral.⁷³ He also referred to the decree on education of

⁷⁰ See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the meanings of ‘republic’ in eighteenth-century Spanish America.

⁷¹ *Laudatio* V (page 9).

⁷² *Laudatio* V (page.1). Suárez (2005) interprets *traheremus* in the sense of ‘transporting’, which would intensify the continuity between Old and New World colleges. That is, European colleges are transported to America.

⁷³ Peramás cites the *Admonitio Generalis* (789) c. 72.

priests by the Second Council of Toledo (531), which allowed him to display some Spanish pride, stating that ‘so ancient is the care for youths and studies at colleges in Spain.’⁷⁴

Surely, argued Peramás, it cannot be that those prudent men of old did not see some great utility or indeed necessity in founding colleges?⁷⁵ But wherein lies the *utilitas* of these colleges? Peramás, we can gather by now, believed that an education helped develop both the mind and character, and that such an education could not be successfully given at home. For example, these ancient founders of colleges, stated Peramás, must have seen that young age is like wax: *ceream in vitium flecti, monitoribus asperam, si parentum indulgentiae permittetur*, (‘wax pliable towards the bent of vice, rough to advisers if left to the indulgence of parents’).⁷⁶ These lines are taken from Horace, except the conditional note on the negative influence of parents who might not see defects in their children or be able or want to correct them. Peramás supported this view by again quoting Horace: *at, pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici, si quod vitium est, non fastidire*, ‘as a father does not show disgust if there is a defect in the son, so we should not in our friend’.⁷⁷

Moreover, Peramás used agrarian imagery to describe the *utilitas* of education and colleges in the Old World. Marcela Suárez noted the allusion to Virgil’s *Georgics* in the following passage, where college professors are compared to ‘cultivators’ who with their expertise are able to produce the desired ‘fruit’:

*Nempe corruptum a natura solum nobis haereditate contigit, quod antequam spinas coeperit insitas emitter, purgari oportet, subigi, coli, semente spargi optima. In Seminariis haec fiunt facillime, ubi **cultores** experti sunt, qui quem quisque fructum ferre possit, et quando arari, quid in eo seri, quae putari debeant, probe norunt: culturae huic optatus respondet fructus, quem nunquam domi adolescentes darent.*

⁷⁴ *Laudatio V* (page 6). Cf. *Synodus Toletana secunda* chapter 1.

⁷⁵ *Laudatio V* (page 9): ‘adeo vetus in Hispania est de Collegiis adolescentium cura, studiumque.’

⁷⁶ Hor. *Ars P.* 163: ‘*cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper*’.

⁷⁷ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.43-46. Suárez suggests that Peramás made a mistake in quoting verse 44, writing *si quod vitium est* instead of *si quod sit vitium*. The slight alteration from subjunctive to indicative mood, however, makes the verse read more as a certainty than a possibility. That is, parents usually do not see defects in their children.

Undoubtedly we have inherited a soil corrupted by nature, which must be cleaned, ploughed, tilled and sown with the best seed before thorns begin to grow. This takes place more easily in seminaries, where there are expert cultivators who well know who can bear what fruit, when to sow, what to cultivate, and what must be trimmed; the desired fruit corresponds to this cultivation, which adolescents would never produce at home.

In Virgil's *Georgics* 1.50-53 the farmer must also study the landscape before ploughing it, assessing the conditions of the weather and the potential of the soil:

*At prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor,
ventos et varium caeli praediscere morem
cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum
et quid quaeque ferat regio et quid quaeque recuset.*⁷⁸

But before we cleave with iron the unknown surface, we must learn about the winds and changing patterns of the sky, about the habits and cultivation of the sites, what every region bears and what it denies.

The authority of the Council of Trent (1545-63), invoked at the climax of this passage on schools in the Old World, also stressed the need to form boys *nisi a teneris annis . . . informetur antequam vitiorum habitus totos homines possideat*, 'from tender years . . . before the habit of vices take over all men'.⁷⁹ Schools in the Old World therefore aimed above all to produce the leaders of republics. Education was necessary to mould character during youth, 'before thorns begin to grow', and since such an education could not normally be received at home, colleges were considered useful in the Old World. This is even more so the case in America: *Aggrediar nun causas illas exponere, quibus causis UTILIORA sunt, et NECESSARIORA adolescentium Collegia in America, quam in Europa*: 'I will now advance to expound the reasons for which colleges of youths are more useful and necessary in America than in Europe'.⁸⁰ That is, for Peramás colleges are not only useful or indeed indispensable in the New World – they are even more important than in the Old World.

⁷⁸ *Laudatio V* (page 9). Cf. Verg.G.1.50-53.

⁷⁹ *The Council of Trent* Session 23 chapter 18 (15 July 1563).

⁸⁰ *Laudatio V* (page 24).

The *utilitas* of colleges in the New World

In 1594 the Seminario Conciliar of San Luis in Quito was handed over to the Jesuits due to economic difficulties. The Jesuits already ran a college in Quito, so they accepted under two conditions: that they receive two additional houses, and that Latin would be publicly taught only in Jesuit classrooms. In this way the Jesuits acquired a monopoly of Latin education in Quito, to which the local council, Rome and the Crown agreed.⁸¹ In his fifth oration Peramás did not relate quite the same story. In his survey of New World colleges, he merely explained that the bishop of Quito Luis López de Solís entrusted his seminary to the Company of Jesus with *singulari benevolentia* ('singular kindness').⁸² Peramás took more interest in Phillip II's 1595 Cédula to the Cabildo of Quito, which enjoined the Cabildo to take special care of the (now Jesuit-run) College of San Luis. Philip II stated that the college was founded for four reasons:

- 1) for the propagation of Christianity (*ad propagandum Evangelium*)
- 2) for the education of Spaniards (*ad docendos hispanos*)
- 3) for the conversion of Indians (*ad convertendos Indos*)
- 4) for the common good and the distinction and glory of the republic (*ad bonum commune reipublicae, eiusque ornamentum, et decus*)

In the rest of the oration Peramás developed each of Philip's reasons as part of his argument on the greater *utilitas* of educational institutions in the New World than in the Old one. Interestingly, Peramás chose to discuss Philip II's reasons in a different order:

- 1) for the education of Spaniards
- 2) for the common good and the distinction and glory of the republic
- 3) for the propagation of Christianity
- 4) for the conversion of Indians

⁸¹ Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, ed. *Teología en América Latina: Escolástica barroca, Ilustración y preparación de la Independencia (1665-1810)* Vol. 2 (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1999), 132.

⁸² *Laudatio V* (page 18).

This shift in order by Peramás signals the degree of importance which Peramás gave to the educational vocation of the Jesuits. Phillip II had placed the propagation of Christianity in first place, but Peramás chose to list ‘education of Spaniards’ first. This suggests that Peramás invested more importance in, or was more aware of, the college’s role in helping create an elite class of educated creoles. It was also what his audience would expect to hear, for the education of Indians and others was not a function of Monserrat. Indeed, Peramás showed a complete lack of interest in precedents of educating Indians in the style of *hispani*. For example, he listed the College of Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco for *caciques* as the most ancient one in Mexico, but dismissed it with *sed non nobis de eo sermo est*, (‘we have nothing to say about this’).⁸³ On the other hand, by finishing with the ‘conversion of Indians’ Peramás pledged his devotion to the missionary spirit of the Spanish conquest expounded by Philip II, that is, to convert (and thus civilise) Indians.

Education and the dangerous company of ‘the worst kind of people’

The specific circumstances of Spanish American life and culture, according to Peramás, made it imperative that parents should send their male children to boarding colleges or *colegios convictorios* from a young age. According to Peramás, in Europe the surplus of qualified educators meant that elites could hire private tutors for their children. Not so in America, for two reasons: it was not the custom (*nec mos iste invaluit*) and there were not enough qualified tutors. These two reasons, about custom and pragmatics respectively, suggest ways in which Spanish American culture by the mid-eighteenth century already differed markedly from that of Spain. Even if creole parents possessed the knowledge, resources and desire to educate their sons at home, they could not. In these provinces, explained Peramás, ‘the father is frequently away attending to business

⁸³ *Laudatio V* (page 18). This may reflect the primary concern Jesuits gave to the education of creole elites in America; Anthony Pagden, ‘Identity Formation in Spanish America’ in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 76.

affairs, and might be gone for months or even years; the mother, too timid and indulgent by nature, would be unable to exercise authority over insolent boys.’⁸⁴ As a result, according to Peramás, in the father’s absence boys would be left to their own devices, the lure of spare time and the riches which America afforded.

In what followed Peramás referred to the dangerous company of ‘people of the worst kind’, which seems to suggest that Monserrat aimed to separate the elite associated with the college from the rest of the population, particularly indigenous women and *mestizos*. Peramás asserted that at colleges youths were safe from bad company: ‘At colleges all contact and games with men of the lowest class were forbidden’ (*In Collegiis commercia haec omnia, ludique cum infimae [s]ortis hominibus interdicuntur*).⁸⁵ Peramás here alluded to the mixed households of Spanish America by referring to the biblical story of Isaac and Ismael:

*Quin etiam, ut Hispanorum domus, et servorum, et ancillarum gregibus abundans, videt saepe SARA prudens filiolum ludentem cum Ismaele servo, nec tamen audet marito dicere: Eiice ancillam hanc, et filium eius: quare bibit cum ludo innocens infantulus non innocentes mores.*⁸⁶

For, as in the houses of Spaniards there is an abundance of slaves and servants, often the prudent Sara may see her little son playing with the slave Ismael, but will not dare to say to her husband: ‘Send the servant-woman and her son away’. Wherefore while playing the innocent boy imbibes non-innocent customs.

The reference to Genesis reinforced the idea that the presence of women-servants and their *mestizo* children was pernicious for young creole boys. Ismael was the first son of Abraham, and since he was born of the Egyptian slave Agar, Ismael was also a *mestizo*. Abraham’s wife Sara later saw Ismael mocking her own son Isaac and forced Abraham to banish the slave and her son.⁸⁷ Similarly, servant

⁸⁴ *Laudatio V* (page 25): ‘At in his Provinciis saepissime Pater domi non est: quod omnia a negotiatione externa pendeant, et sint itinera longissima, quibus menses plurimos, annos totos consumunt Patres: luctante interea domi cum liberis matre, quae, ut natura timidior est, et indulgentior, in procaces pueros imperium vix obtinet.’ See also Seth J. Denbo, *Speaking relatively: a history of incest and the family in eighteenth-century England*. PhD thesis (2001), University of Warwick. Chapter 2 includes a discussion of contested maternal authority in the absence of the father in the patriarchal societies of eighteenth century England and France.

⁸⁵ *Laudatio V* (page 16). Cf. *Amm. Marc.* 14.6.25 (Late Latin): ‘ex turba vero imae sortis et paupertinae, in tabernis aliqui penocant vinariis...’

⁸⁶ *Laudatio V* (page 26).

⁸⁷ *Gen.* 15-25.

women and their children would live side by side with the legitimate creole wife and her children in America. The creole wife would often find her son playing with the servant's son, who was in fact fathered by the Spanish master. Yet unlike the biblical Sara a creole wife dared not order her husband to dismiss the servant and her son. The impotence of Spanish American women to change the situation seems to reflect Peramás' alleged resignation that circumstances in the creole household were far from ideal. As a rhetorical device it is effective, for Peramás drives home the conclusion that colleges (and Jesuits) should be considered more useful, even indispensable, in the New World.

In addition, the use of the term 'imbibe' seems to allude to the widespread use of indigenous and slave wet-nurses in Spanish America.⁸⁸ It reflects the concern among Spaniards that Indian milk affected the habits, intelligence and the very nature of their children's bodies. For instance, in the influential treatise of missionary theory *De procuranda indorum salute* (1588), the Jesuit José de Acosta had recommended caution in entrusting missionary work to creoles, 'for they may have acquired the scent of Indian intelligence and customs from their mother's milk and their upbringing.'⁸⁹ Breastfeeding here functions as a metaphor for the Jesuit ideal of two separate republics of creoles and Indians, respectively.

Moreover, Peramás would have known that breastfeeding as a metaphor for education had precedents in antiquity when he quoted Horace towards the end of the section:

... *Nunc adhibe puro*
Pectore verba, puer: nunc te melioribus offer.
Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
*Testa diu.*⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Barbara Ganson pointed out the impact of this practice on Indian infant mortality, for they received less of their mother's milk and probably died of malnutrition. The practice was so widespread in the Rio de la Plata that the Spanish Crown intervened to forbid it. Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule*, 26.

⁸⁹ Acosta, *De procuranda* 4.8: '[N]eque verò oportere rem tantam apto sermoni hominum committere, quorum mores non aequè apti sint. Ferè enim Indorum ingenia, & mores redolent, quorum & lacte, & consuetudine educati sunt': ('One should not entrust so much to these men, who though skilled in speaking the language, might not have equally good customs. For they may have acquired the scent of Indian intelligence and customs from their mother's milk and their upbringing'). While this may be interpreted as a metaphor, it signalled a real concern over the nature of creole bodies and the influence of indigenous breast-feeding. See Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 50-53.

⁹⁰ Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.67-70.

Drink now words from a pure breast, boy. Offer yourself now to better things, for the earthen pot recently imbued will preserve its odour for a long time.

Within the Spanish American context of indigenous nursing practice, the following lines from Horace acquired additional meaning. Education would counter the corrupting effects or the ‘scent’ of Indian breastfeeding. Peramás expounded further on the negative effect of close contact between Indians and Spaniards by drawing from Nicolas del Techo’s *Historia Provinciae Paraquariae* (1673). Techo (born Nicolas du Toict) was a Jesuit humanist who, like Peramás, had also worked in the Paraguayan missions, leaving a record of the dire situation in Tucumán before the arrival of the Jesuits in 1586. Tellingly, Peramás did not quote the phrases in bold:

*Quamvis enim Hispana nation frugalis sit, & naturam temperantiae artibus coercere noverit: **tamen rerum abundantia, & servitorum:** necnon indigenarum foeminarum multitudo licentiaque, ita corruperat mores, ut sortem suam Hispani miserabiliter lamentarentur, dolerentque, **ob Sacerdotum & Concionatorum inopiam** ...*⁹¹

For the Spanish nation may be frugal and know how to moderate nature with the arts of temperance, but [the abundance of things and of servants], as well as the number and license of indigenous women, corrupted customs so much that the Spaniards came to rue their lot [because of the scarcity of priests] ...

In Techo’s text the Spaniards lamented the scarcity of priests as well as their descent into vice. Peramás made it seem as if Techo’s Spaniards lamented only their corrupted state. Peramás also suppressed the ‘abundance of things and of servants’ from his quotation of Techo, placing more weight on the negative influence of Indian women. In this way he presented the Indian female population as a destabilising force, not only within the household but also the republic, for they corrupted the customs of men and perhaps more dangerously, their children. A brief reference to the ancient poet Juvenal sealed the argument - children must be removed from such influences:

⁹¹ Nicolás del Techo, *Historia Provinciae Paraquariae* 1.23. Cf. Peramás, *Laudatio* V (page 26).

*Nil dictu foedum, visuque haec limina tangat,
Intra quae **puer** est procul hinc, procul inde puellae,
Lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasi,
Maxima debetur puero reverentia.*⁹²

Let no foul word or sight smear the threshold where there is a boy. Let the seductive girls and the song of the nocturnal parasite depart; let them go far from hence. The greatest respect is owed to the child.

As a result, the home emerges as an especially dangerous place for young boys in the orations of Peramás. The Isaacs or legitimate children would be safe from the influence of Ismaels or people of the lowest kind at colleges, where they would receive an education worthy of ‘a free-born and noble youth’ (*ingenuo puero, et nobili*).⁹³ Only then could these boys grow up to be the magistrates of their cities and the ‘distinction and glory of their republics’.

How accurately this reflected the social reality of Córdoba is a different matter. A study of the ethnic composition of the university or college students is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it may well have been more mixed than Peramás claimed. Also, peninsular Spaniards sent their sons to the college.⁹⁴ Monserrat could have thus been a strategy to protect the old elite’s interests, or it may have been a bastion of peninsular privilege – or both. Classical learning need not serve one agenda only, and the main objective of any rhetorical piece was to persuade audiences by finding common points among them. In this case Peramás appealed to the ambitions and pride of his elite audience, whose sons were able to afford and attend Monserrat.

⁹² Cf. Juv.14.44-47. Emphasis is my own. Suárez noted that the original Juvenal read *intra quae pater est* (‘where there is a father’). She left interpretation open to the possibility that this was either a mistake by Peramás or an intentional change to emphasise the theme of the oration.

⁹³ *Laudatio* V (page.26).

⁹⁴ Vera de Flachs and Ferrero Micó analysed the admission records of Monserrat between 1695 and 1767, showing that about 120 students came from Buenos Aires, 115 from Córdoba, 75 from Salta, 47 from Santa Fe, and 45 from Paraguay. Those from Buenos Aires, however, could have been Spaniards who had only recently taken up residence in Buenos Aires before going to Córdoba. Ten students are formally listed as Spanish, along with one English and one Swedish student; María Cristina Vera de Flachs and Remedios Ferrero Micó, *Finanzas y poder político en las universidades hispanoamericanas: el caso de Córdoba 1613-1854* (Córdoba: Ediciones del copista, 1996), 51 and Appendix Document 1.

For the good of the Republic and the problem of the ‘New’

Colleges were intended above all to produce future leaders of the republic, both religious and secular. Missionaries and magistrates, according the metaphors of the body/republic, were the blood that gave it vigour. Lima for instance could boast three colleges, the College of San Felipe (1578), the Real Colegio de San Martín (1582), and Santo Toribio (1591): ‘from all these excellent men went forth to hold the dignities of the republic, ecclesiastical as well as secular offices.’⁹⁵ Again, the utility of colleges in educating future magistrates and priests is emphasised.

Peramás’ elitist concept of republic has a precedent in José de Acosta’s *De procuranda indorum salute* (1588).⁹⁶ The fifth oration contains an extensive passage by Acosta on the ideal magistrates for Spanish America. Acosta gave a conspicuous role to elites by comparing royal officials to water flowing from a spring, also using the language of disease:

*Etenim à praefectis, à ducibus, à iudicibus, à Regiae deniq; maiestatis administris, perinde, atque à fonte fluuium, ad res omnes Indicas, vel perniciem, vel salutem, vel si quid aliud tertium est, deriuari, ac permanere perspicuum est. Néque dici potest, eo fonte vitiatò, quam latè lues influat, quam omne remedium respuat.*⁹⁷

It is evident that all that is pernicious or healthy to the Indies exists and is derived from governors, captains and judges – in short, from the dispensers of royal sovereignty – as water flows from a spring. It cannot be stressed enough that when this fountain is poisoned, the fluid may spread and resist all remedies.

The welfare and prosperity of the republic therefore, for Acosta as for Peramás, depended on its leaders. The metaphor of the spring, although not explicitly referred to by Peramás, could well have inspired his own mixed metaphor of the

⁹⁵ *Laudatio V* (page 13): ‘ex omnibus . . . prodierunt Eximii Viri ad omnes Reipublicae dignitates, et official tam Ecclesiastica, quam Saecularia.’ Peramás cites as his source a collection of documents of synods in Perú by the Irish Franciscan Francis Harold: Franciscus Haroldus, *Lima Limata Conciliis*, Apparatus Historicus 8 (‘Limensis Academia’, pp. xx-xxi).

⁹⁶ On Acosta see Brading, *The First America*, 166-195; Gregory J. Shepherd, ‘José de Acosta’s *De procuranda Indorum salute*: A Call for Evangelical Reforms’ in Colonial Peru’ in *Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures* vol. 231 (New York/Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

⁹⁷ Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute* 3.4.

republic as a body in which blood/water/leaders may carry its vigour – but also its poison.

No kingdom or province, asserted Peramás in line with Acosta, had as much need of honest or better magistrates as America. Similarly, no other region required as holy and learned priests as those sent out into desolate regions ‘among slaves and Indians, men and women of abandoned modesty’.⁹⁸ The Jesuit curriculum was intended to form leaders particularly by the study of history with examples: ‘there are many examples, some to praise and imitate, or some to reject and beware of following.’⁹⁹ They would also learn about civil and ecclesiastical offices and laws and precepts made authoritative in the Republic by custom and antiquity. The authoritative voice of José de Acosta was here summoned to deal with what I call ‘Peramás’ problem of the New’.

Elsewhere in Spanish America creoles attempted to appropriate the Indian past in what David Brading has called ‘creole patriotism’. For instance, in works such as *Paraíso occidental* (1684), the creole intellectual Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora referred to the *mestizo* scholar Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxochitl as the Cicero of the Mexican language. Sigüenza y Góngora also encouraged nuns to imitate the virtues of Aztec virgins, and he observed that before the arrival of the Spaniards the Mexican Indians had possessed polished schools. His *Teatro de virtudes políticas* (1680), in fact, proposed that Mexican Indians were descended from Naphtuhim, the founder and ruler of Egypt.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, Sigüenza y Góngora effectively claimed the ancient indigenous cultures of Mexico as part of a ‘national’ political tradition or autochthonous classical antiquity.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren’s monumental *Bibliotheca Mexicana* (1755) conferred classical status upon the Aztecs and Tlaxcaltecs of Mexico, ‘who were shown to have used hieroglyphs, built monuments and practised oratory.’¹⁰² For the Peramás of the *Laudationes*, the Rio de la Plata had simply produced no comparable Indian cultures. Everything was new.

⁹⁸ *Laudatio V* (page 35): ‘inter servitia, inter Indos, proiectae verecundiae homines, et faeminas.’

⁹⁹ *Laudatio V* (page 27): ‘exempla sunt, sive eorum, quos laudes, et imiteris, sive eorum, quos vituperes, et quorum caveas exitus.’

¹⁰⁰ Brading, *The First America*, 363-366.

¹⁰¹ Anthony Pagden, ‘Identity Formation in Spanish America’, 71-72.

¹⁰² Andrew Laird, ‘Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth Century New Spain’, 251.

Acosta's famous division of 'barbarians' into three social categories may lie at the heart of Peramás' dismissal of Indian cultures of the Rio de la Plata. In the proem of his *De Procuranda indorum salute*, Acosta defined the 'Indian nations' (*Indorum nationes*) of America as 'barbarians' (*barbari*) characterised by their ignorance of Christianity and morals. *Barbari* could be classified into three groups. The first class included the Chinese and Japanese, who possessed laws, government and script. The Aztec and Inca stood in the second category, for they had a strong government and memory of the past but no written records. In the lowest place were roaming savages without government, history or writing.¹⁰³ As Brading remarked, a scheme contrasting civilisation and savagery was nothing new.¹⁰⁴ To name one example, Tacitus' *Germania*, a text which would often be referred to in Peramás' later writings, compared the savage Germans to civilised Romans.

Acosta's innovation lay in arranging the categories in evolutionary sequence. According to this scheme, the Guaraní of the southern regions of America remained in the first stages of humanity. Acosta indeed distinguished the Indians inhabiting Moxos and the regions bounded by the Paraguay river from bloodthirsty tribes such as the Caribs: 'included in this last class are those who are not violent like tigers or panthers, but are not very different to animals; naked, timid, and given to shameful Venus and Adonis [lasciviousness].'¹⁰⁵ Crucially, before the arrival of the Jesuits, the Guaraní had ostensibly possessed no government, script or history.

For Peramás, this lack of indigenous traditions presented a problem for the adequate governance of the New World, even if it provided the opportunity for Jesuits to create societies modeled on the utopias of Christian Europe in the missions. Still drawing from Acosta, Peramás explained that customs, law and the passing of time have made government stable in Europe. Examples from the past

¹⁰³ Acosta, 'Prooemium' (pp. 112-124).

¹⁰⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 187. On the use of Latin terminology by seventeenth-century Jesuits in New France, and their role in the development of Early Modern ideas of civilisation see John Galluci, 'Latin Terms and Periphrases for Native Americans in the *Jesuit Relations*' in Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Ruys, eds., *Latin and Alterity in the Early Modern Period* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies/Brepols, 2010), 259-272.

¹⁰⁵ Acosta 'Prooemium' (p. 121): '*Pertinent etiā ad hanc classem ij barbari, qui esti atroces non sunt, neque tygrides aut pantherae, tamen à pecudibus parū distāt, nudi & pisi, timidi, saedissime Veneri aut etiam Adonidi, vulgò dediti.*'

were abundant in Europe, making it difficult for the ruler to err in directing the state. In contrast, in America ‘everything is new’ (*omnia nova*). No stable authority exists and daily life must deal with the unexpected. The body-politic itself was changeable:

*[S]tatus ipse Reipub. adeo inconstans & varius suique dissimilis, vt quae heri commodissima rectissimaque habebantur, hodie rebus commutatis iniquissima, ac perniciosissima existant.*¹⁰⁶

The organisation of the republic itself is inconstant, diverse and different every day; what was yesterday very useful and fair, because of circumstances, today may become very unjust and dangerous.

Of course, everything was not ‘new’ in the Rio de la Plata. Indigenous communities had inhabited the region long before the arrival of the Spaniards, with their own languages, customs and religious practices. Peramás however, by referring to Acosta, managed to dismiss the Indian past as undesirable or non-existent. For instance, Acosta as quoted by Peramás stated that ‘examples from the past do not exist or should not be imitated: many Hispanic and Roman laws were opposed to barbarian customs held for a long time’.¹⁰⁷ In other words, the Rio de la Plata was not without autochthonous traditions, but unlike Sigüenza y Góngora, for Peramás the Guarani and other Indian cultures could not provide appropriate examples and traditions for creoles, so they could not function as ‘classical antiquities’.

The importance of Acosta in the fifth oration can be detected by the fact that Peramás felt it necessary to reiterate and explain the passage from *De procuranda* in a footnote. Europe, stated Peramás, had ‘a course set by its very antiquity’: *cursus ipsa antiquitate firmatus*. In contrast, America was a world where ‘all is new and uncertain’: *omnia nova . . . incerta*. Those in authority must

¹⁰⁶ Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute* 3.4. The copy consulted at the Peabody Library was heavily annotated by a reader who underlined many of the same passages cited by Peramás, particularly Books 3 and 4. The title-page of the volume is signed by Doctor Don Juan Gomez de Parada (1678-1751), who was a bishop in Yucatán, Guatemala and Guadalajara, with the same hand and ink that made the annotations. The reader added an annotation in the margins of 3.4: ‘Dificultates Indicae gubernationis’. This shows the influence of Acosta well into the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁷ Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute* 3.4.

know how to interpret and act in new situations.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the study of history for Peramás meant the study of *European* history, so that European examples could be applied appropriately to a changing New World. Virtuous and educated men were therefore needed to lead the republic. Colleges constituted the ‘factories’ (*officinae*) which produced these able magistrates.

For the glory of the Republic and Creole Latin Learning

Spanish American colleges produced dignitaries who were not only *useful* to their cities, but who by their virtue and learning brought them prestige. Perú and New Spain, which received the most attention in the fifth oration, provided good examples. Thus, playing on the name of the city of Lima and the Latin term ‘limare’ (to file, polish)¹⁰⁹, Peramás stated that:

*In nobilissima illa Americae urbe, tria sunt Collegia iuvenum, unde veluti ex tripode¹¹⁰ quodam sapientiae petuntur oracula: et ubi Limana ingenia, auro, et argento suis pretiosiora, **limantur** affabre.*¹¹¹

In that noblest city of America, there are three colleges of youths, where oracles are sought as from a certain tripod of wisdom; where Limense talents, more precious than its gold and silver, are polished artistically.

The College of San Ildefonso in Mexico, to mention another example, ‘is the glory of great Mexico and has given to that city innumerable wise men’.¹¹² Another indicator of a college’s prestige, in Peramás’ view, was their literary production. Peramás asserted that ‘I must seek the greater praise of [this] college in the verses which are published there, so erudite and ingenious, so worthy of Apollo.’¹¹³ In fact, a volume containing a collection of poems recited in a contest at San Ildefonso in 1748 seems to have made its way to Peramás’ hands in

¹⁰⁸ *Laudatio V* (page 27).

¹⁰⁹ ‘Limare’ is used to describe polished speech or writing in classical literature. Cf.: Cic. *De or.* 1.180; Mart. 7.51.5; Quint. *Inst.* 2.8.4; Ov. *Tr.* 1.7.30; Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.19.

¹¹⁰ Cf.: Verg. *A.* 3.360, Ov. *Ars am.* 3.789, Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.16.14, Luc. 5.12, Sen. *Med.* 86: ‘tripode’ as the tripod of the Pythia, the priestess of Apollo at Delphi.

¹¹¹ *Laudatio V* (page 13).

¹¹² *Laudatio V* (page 15): ‘*decus magni Mexici illud est, et viros sapientissimos dedit isti urbi innumerabiles.*’

¹¹³ *Laudatio V* (page 15): ‘*maior Collegii laus, ab carminibus quae ibi eduntur, mihi nunc petenda est: ita erudita, ita ingeniosa sunt, et Phaebo digna.*’

Córdoba.¹¹⁴ Peramás' held these verses, written in honour of the ascension of Fernando VI to the throne, as excellent: 'the book is appropriate, with countless poems of every genre, but all confined by the number six as if in a kind of golden ring or circle.'¹¹⁵ This book in short can be called a 'glorious monument of Mexican talents' (*monumentum praeclarum . . . Mexicanorum ingeniorum*).¹¹⁶

Furthermore, the excellent level of Latin at San Ildefonso prompted Peramás to suggest that Spanish American colleges were on the verge of surpassing, or indeed might have already surpassed, their European counterparts. He mused that *si in reliquis Americae Provinciis, tam Litterae humaniores colerentur, quam coluntur mexici . . . et illam victricem veteris terrarum Orbis linguam in NOVUM ORBEM navigare videremus*, 'if in the rest of the provinces of America the Humanities were tended as they are in Mexico, we would soon see that victorious language of the lands of the old World sail to the New World.' Moreover, he quoted a short elegiac poem allegedly composed by a student of the College of Monserrat about San Ildefonso, though one could suspect Peramás wrote it himself:

*Dum canitis SEXTI TRINO certamine laudes;
Audiit, attonito turba NOVENA choro.¹¹⁷
Pellimur heu! dixit, Parnassi culmine Phaebus:
Orbis et antiquus vincitur ORBE NOVO.
SEXTUS SEXCENTOS dedit uno nomine Phaebos:
Ildephonsiacos in iuga sacra vocans.¹¹⁸
Ergo fonte tuo veteri iam, Phaebe, recede:
Et bibe MEXICEO, siqua canenda, lacu.¹¹⁹*

¹¹⁴ The volume in question is the *Cifra feliz de las dichas imponderables, que se promete la monarchía hespañola baxo el suspirado dominio de su augusto soberano el Señor D. Fernando VI. . . certamen poetico, con que la humilde lealtad, y reconocida gratitud del real, y mas antiguo Colégio de S. Ildephonso de México . . . celebró el día 23. de enero del año de 1748. . .* (Salamanca: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1748). A copy is in the Biblioteca Nacional de México, no. 1638. See Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Colegios y profesores jesuitas que enseñaron latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)*, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1979), 191.

¹¹⁵ *Laudatio V* (page 15): 'Liber iustus est, carmina omnis generis innumerabilia, omniaque inclusa SEXTO numero veluti quodam orbe aureo circulo.' Cf. Verg. A.5.559: 'circulus auri'

¹¹⁶ *Laudatio V* (page 16).

¹¹⁷ 'Turba novena' was used by the Italian Poliziano as a way of referring to the nine Muses in his letter concluding the third elegy *Ad Braccionem salute*. See Mario Martelli, 'Tra Poliziano ed Ovidio' in François Livi and Carlo Ossola, *De Florence à Venise: études en l'honneur de Christian Bec* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2006), 222. Cf. Rafael Landivar, *Rusticatio Mexicana* 4.206: 'Parnassia turba'.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5.76: 'iuga montis'; Juv. 3.9.57: 'iugum Cumis'; Ov. *Her.* 5.138: 'iuga longa.'

¹¹⁹ *Laudatio V* (page 16).

While you Ildephonsians sing the praises of Fernando the Sixth in three contests, the crowd of Nine listened with the astonished chorus. ‘Alas!’ said Phoebus, ‘We are being pushed off the summit of Parnassus; the Old World is defeated by the New.’ Fernando the Sixth with one name has produced six hundred Phoebuses, calling the Ildephonsians to the sacred heights. Therefore depart now from your ancient fountain, oh Phoebus, and drink from the Mexican lake, if there is anything to be sung.

This short poem claimed the (Old World) Parnassus for Spanish American creoles at the same time as it seemed to invite the (dethroned) ancients/Europeans to come to America for inspiration. Effectively, it asserted equality between Old and New World Latinity but proudly highlighted that fresh inspiration was to be found in the New World. Mexican creoles had prided themselves on their ‘florid Baroque Latin’ since the sixteenth century, beginning with Francisco Cervantes de Salazar’s *Aliquot dialogi* (1554).¹²⁰ In the *Laudationes* Peramás sought to establish a fellowship of that creole pride between San Ildefonso, Monserrat, and all Spanish American colleges. Lima and Mexico would set the standard for the rest of New World: *ab istis veluti duobus orbis Americani cardinibus, Lima et Mexico, excitandorum Collegiorum stadium propagatum fuit*, ‘as if from these cardinal points of the American world, Lima and Mexico, the contest to raise up colleges expanded’.¹²¹

Jesuit exile writings, though written as responses to Enlightenment prejudices about the New World, continued the tradition of extolling Latin acquired in America. For instance, Rafael Landívar described country life in New Spain in his didactic poem *Rusticatio Mexicana* (1782), which divided into sixteen books recalled Virgil’s *Georgics*.¹²² Peramás himself would later in exile in Italy try his hand at such an endeavour, celebrating Columbus and the discovery of America in his epic poem *De invento novo orbe inductoque illuc Christi sacrificio* (1777). It is noteworthy however that at no point in the *Laudationes* did Peramás praise the local nature and peoples of the Río de la Plata.

¹²⁰ Andrew Laird, ‘Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth Century New Spain’, 245.

¹²¹ *Laudatio* V (page 18).

¹²² Another example of poetry celebrating American nature is José Rodrigues de Melo’s *De Rusticis Brasiliae Rebus Carminum Libri IV* (Rome: Ex Typographia Fratrum Puccinelliorum 1781). This collection of poems is known as the ‘Brazilian Georgics’, emphasising its connection with Virgil’s *Georgics*.

Even creoles, American-born Spaniards, should aspire to conform to European models. Celebrations of *rioplatense* nature would start appearing in Peramás' memoirs and poetry of the 1760s and 1770s, suggesting, among other things, that the experience of exile resulted in a new appreciation of Spanish America and its people for Peramás.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the deployment of Jesuit classical learning in service of the creole polity of Córdoba. The *Laudationes Quinque* (1766) constitutes the only work by Peramás that was published and presented to an audience in the New World. As such it is unique among his literary works in its characterisation of Spanish America and its people. In the five orations Peramás developed the creole ideals of nobility and highlighted the importance of patronage. The figure of Duarte represents creole nobility, which is both inherited from the conquistadors and merited through his greatest deed, i.e.: founding the College of Monserrat. Moreover, through its praise of Duarte and colleges, the *Laudationes* can be seen as an implicit praise of the Jesuits' triumph in Spanish America. If the welfare of the republic depended on the formation of magistrates and priests, the presence of Jesuit teachers was even more so indispensable. Indians had no part to play in Peramás' vision of a creole polity; they were to remain separate. The next chapter will discuss Peramás' ideal Republic of Indians, as found in his *De administratione guaranica* (1793).

The *Laudationes Quinque* was published only a year before the expulsion, which marked the dramatic end of the Jesuit monopoly of education in the region. Peramás' triumphant and complacent tone would be severely shaken by the turn of events of 1767. Likewise, his faith in European traditions and models of government would suffer a shock with the French Revolution, and his appreciation of local Indian cultures would change. By 1793 and the publication of the *De administratione guaranica*, the Guarani missions of Paraguay would be offered as utopian models for European nations in the throes of revolution, a testimony of the superiority of the rule of God rather than Reason.

Chapter 2: The exile writings of José Manuel Peramás and a Jesuit model of statehood (1767-1793)

Introduction

In the early hours of 12 July 1767 the Jesuits of Córdoba woke up to find colonial soldiers at the gates of their college. They were filed into the courtyard and listened in astonishment to the *Pragmática Sanción* of Charles III of Spain, which decreed the immediate expulsion of all Jesuits from Spanish territories, including America and the Philippines.¹ Thus began José Manuel Peramás' diary of the events of the expulsion, which recounted the odyssey of the Paraguayan Jesuits to Italy. With all but their clothes and breviaries confiscated, they were marched to Buenos Aires and packed onto ships bound for Europe. The *Pragmática Sanción* was surprisingly reticent in detailing the reasons for the expulsion, merely citing the 'very grave causes . . . reserved to my Royal self' and the divine authority of the king to take measures to protect his people.² In the royal mind the Jesuits were considered a public menace. Finally, under pressure from European monarchs, came the final blow in the form of Clement XIV's brief of 1773 suppressing the Society. It would be restored in 1814 by Pius VII, and Jesuits were recalled to Spain by Ferdinand VII in 1815. Most of the Spanish American exiles were by that point already dead, Peramás included.

¹ *Pragmatica sancion de su Magestad en fuerza de ley para el estrañamiento de estos Reynos á los Regulares de la Compañia, ocupacion de sus temporalidades, y prohibición de su restablecimiento en tiempo alguno...* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 2 April 1767).

² '[E]stimulado de gravísimas causas. . . que reservo en mi Real ánimo; usando de la suprema autoridad económica que el Todopoderoso ha depositado en mis manos para la protección de mis vasallos y respeto de mi Corona. . .'

A compilation of documents sheds more light on the official Bourbon stance towards the Jesuit expulsion in general, as well as on the specific role played by the Guarani missions and events of Paraguay.³ The influential statesman Pedro Rodríguez, the Count of Campomanes, for instance, accused the Jesuits of giving laws and of disposing of the Indians' goods at will, and effectively creating their own kingdom in the missions. The stubborn refusal of the Guarani to accept the Treaty of Madrid (1750), which had ordered seven missions to relocate to the western bank of the Uruguay River, gave Campomanes a specific cause to accuse the Jesuits of promoting insurgency in the Spanish colonies. The collection also included a piece written, ironically, by an ex-Jesuit who had travelled with Peramás to Spanish America: Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri's *El Reino Jesuítico Paraguayo* (1770), 'The Jesuit Kingdom of Paraguay'.⁴

Explanations of the expulsion tend to fall into three areas: a conflict between Church and State, economic interests, and an ideological conflict with the Spanish crown.⁵ At the centre of the accusations stands the notion of power: the Jesuits were perceived by the Bourbons to be a public menace because, among other things, they seemed to have created a rich and autonomous state in Paraguay. Peramás here identified Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri as a key culprit in disseminating misinformation, as well as the Dutch philosopher Cornelius De

³ *Colección general de documentos, tocantes á la persecución que los regulares de la Compañía suscitaron y siguieron... desde 1644 hasta 1660 contra... Bernardino de Cardenas... obispo del Paraguay... Ván añadidos en esta edicion muchos documentos inédidos, y un prólogo que sirve de introducción...* (Madrid: Imprenta real de Gaceta, 1768-70).

⁴ Campomanes was said to have kept the manuscript after Ibáñez de Echavarri's death in 1762 until it could be published; Mario Ford Bacigalupo, 'Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri and the Image of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay' in *The Americas* 33 no 4 (1979): 486; *DHCJ* Vol. 2, 1988-1989.

⁵ Marcela Alejandra Suárez, 'Peramás y la doble redacción sobre el exilio jesuítico' in *Debates en Lenguas Clásicas. Colección Libros de Filo* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-UBA, 2010). On regalism see José Andrés-Gallego, '1767: Por qué los jesuitas: razón y sinrazón de una decisión capital', in Manfred Tietz, ed., *Los jesuitas españoles. Su imagen y contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII* (Madrid/Frankfurt:

Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2001), 78-102; Magnus Mörner, 'The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and Spanish America in 1767 in Light of Eighteenth-Century Regalism' in *The Americas* 23 (1966): 156-164; Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). On the political nature of the Bourbon reforms see John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808* (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 280-290. For a study of clerical reforms within a context of a variety of Enlightenment discourses about the social, economic and political ills of the Indies see Allan J. Kuethe and Keith J. Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), particularly chapter 5.

Pauw (1739-1799) and the French traveller Louis Antoine Bougainville (1729-1811) for propagating rumours despite never having set foot in the missions.⁶ This will be discussed further below.

This chapter explores the exile writings of Peramás, including the poems of the ‘middle period’ (1767-1777), and the posthumous prose treatise, *De administratione guaranica comparate ad Rempublicam Platonis commentarius* (1793). By means of a literary-historical analysis of Peramás’ exile works, this chapter traces the transformation of Jesuit classical learning as it was removed from creole settings into the cosmopolitan environment of the European Enlightenment. The argument is two-fold. First, Peramás deployed his classical learning in European controversies in order to defend the intellectual ability of the peoples of the New World and the civilising role of the Spanish monarchy against the ‘Black Legend’. Here, classical learning primarily enabled Peramás to articulate and maintain a sense of Jesuit identity after exile in 1767 and the suppression of the order in 1773. Secondly, Peramás’ classical learning allowed him to present a Jesuit model of statehood in *De administratione guaranica*, which was based on a separation of Indians and Spaniards into two republics.

Chapter 1 dealt exclusively with Peramás’ republic of creoles; Chapter 2 shifts the focus onto the republic of Indians. Both were part of the Jesuit project in Spanish America. In the *Laudationes Quinque* Peramás had insisted on the need to segregate creole boys from *mestizos* and Indians. In *De administratione guaranica* Peramás justified the isolation of the Guarani missions by claiming the need to prevent the corrupting effects of contact with Spaniards. Peramás did not envision Paraguay as an independent Jesuit-Amerindian state, yet he effectively presented Paraguay as precisely that: a semi-autonomous state.

The first section of this chapter follows the transition from America to Italy, from local to pan-American literary themes and concerns. The moment of exile is seen as the hinge point in Peramás’ vision of Spanish America. Exile removed

⁶ Bougainville obtained his information on the missions when he sailed into Buenos Aires and Río de Janeiro in 1767, which coincided with the expulsion of the Jesuits. Bougainville’s report that in the missions the house of the priest was connected to a house of young women, which he called *guastiguasu*, especially enraged Peramás. It was not, he corrected, a residence for young maidens but for elderly widows; it was in no way connected to the priests’ house; and in fact Bougainville’s spelling of *cotiguasu* was wrong; Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde* 1.7; Peramás *De adm*, note pp. 25-26 [2004, 58].

him from Córdoba and Paraguay, so that regional or local interests became subsumed into a wider perspective from which Peramás considered the fate of the Jesuit order. The *Laudationes Quinque* (1766) had been concerned mostly with local interests. While it included a general discussion of all the colleges of Spanish America, this served mainly as the context of the praise of Ignacio Duarte and the College of Monserrat. This chapter will show that the exile writings of the middle period Peramás' vision charted a broadening of scope, from local to pan-American, which is particularly evident in the epic *De Invento Novo Orbe* (1777). In the years following the French Revolution and in the *De administratione guaranica* Peramás would narrow his focus again towards the former Province of Paraguay.

Exile also marked a change in his use of classical learning. Exile took Peramás from an uncontested academic position held in a college in Córdoba to the land of the ancient Romans, where Italians at the time were challenging the quality of Latin learning of Spanish and Spanish American Jesuits. An examination of his exile poetry shows that the debate over classical learning in Italy led Peramás to identify more closely with Spanish American literary themes and concerns and to portray Indians in a more positive way by comparing them to Plato's ideal society and the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus.

Finally, this chapter suggests that the experience of exile did not alter Peramás' belief in the historical and cultural importance of the Society of Jesus in America. If anything it strengthened it. The anti-Jesuit intellectual climate of Italy and Europe caused the works of the middle and later periods to be increasingly apologetic in tone. The posthumous *De administratione guaranica*, in its defence of the Jesuits, is the most openly apologetic of the works surveyed. In this regard, the classical learning of Peramás in his exile writings functioned mainly to maintain his *Jesuit* identity. Local creole identities were no longer his concern. The 'middle period' can thus be seen as a transition period, where Peramás sought to understand the exile experience. In exile he developed a distinct Jesuit Spanish-American voice which ultimately led him to portray the missions as ideal Christian communities, as a utopia realised in America.

The ‘Middle Period’ (1767-1777): Annus Patiens (1768-69), Finis Anni Patientis elegia (1770), and De Invento Novo Orbe (1777)

Coming to grips with exile

The confident voice of Peramás in the *Laudationes Quinque* broke down completely in the diary *Annus Patiens* (1768) and the elegy *Finis Anni Patientis*. The account in the diary is pathetic: after months in cramped conditions on ships (October-January 1768), the Jesuits arrived at the port of Santa María, where they were kept practically as prisoners until June 1768. Meanwhile ships came in bearing exiles from other provinces, a bittersweet experience, as Peramás noted that many Jesuits thus met friends and brothers again after many years. The Paraguayan Jesuits were sent to Corsica, thinking it would be the end of their travels, only to find it at war and occupied by the French (July-August 1768). The exiles were finally left on the northern shores of Italy to find their way to the Papal States. In September 1768, after a year of privations and travel, they eventually arrived in Faenza, where Peramás finished his Spanish version of the diary.⁷ A year later he produced a Latin version with events up to 1769.⁸ Neither was published during Peramás’ lifetime. The Spanish version was published in a series of volumes of the *Revista Eclesiástica* of Buenos Aires (1906-7), and the Latin version was published in 1875 in the *Letters and Notices*, the journal of the

⁷ José Manuel Peramás, *Narración de lo sucedido a los Jesuitas del Paraguai desde el día de su arresto hasta la ciudad de Faenza en Italia en carta de 24 de Diciembre 1768, escrita en Turín a un Abate de la ciudad de Florencia* (1768). Furlong located the manuscript in the Biblioteca del Colegio de la Cartuja (Granada), now housed in the Archivo de la Facultad de Teología de Granada. Modern editions are Guillermo Furlong, *José Manuel Peramás y su Diario del Destierro* (1768), in *Escritores Coloniales Rioplatenses* vol. I (Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata, 1952); Lila Perrén de Velasco, ed., *Diario del destierro* (Córdoba: Editorial de la Universidad Católica de Córdoba: 2004).

⁸ José Manuel Peramás, *Annus patiens siue Ephemerides quibus continetur iter annum Iesuitarum Paraquariorum Corduba Tucumaniae profectorum* (1768-9). Furlong located the manuscript at ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome). It remains unedited and untranslated. A short introduction and select passages are found in Furlong, *Diario del Destierro*, 55-59. See also Marcela Alejandra Suárez, ‘Peramás y la doble redacción sobre el exilio jesuítico’ in *Debates en Lenguas Clásicas. Colección Libros de Filo* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-UBA, 2010).

Jesuit Province of Britain (Vols. 10-11). In both cases the complete text was published with no editorial notes or introduction.⁹

Guillermo Furlong noted that the two versions coincide substantially but that some differences indicate that the Latin version was not simply a translation of the Spanish one.¹⁰ The use of Latin in the *Annus Patiens* suggests that the intended audience was fellow-Jesuits (the Spanish version was allegedly written at the request of an unnamed ecclesiastical figure of Florence.)¹¹ The act of double-writing served a therapeutic purpose for the traumatised Peramás, at the same time offering some consolation to other Jesuits. The opening words of the *Annus Patiens* express this intention:

*Iter, quod semel vobiscum feci, bis repetii cum bis scripserim, Hispane et Latine: nec me istius scriptionis paenituit, aut paenitet. Quae enim patienda erant gravia corpori sive in itinere, sive in navigatione, ea animus in rerum, quae occurrebant, contemplatione, et scriptione defixus vel minuebat, vel minus sentiebat.*¹²

I have made the journey twice – the same journey I made with you (Jesuits) – since I have written about it twice, in Spanish and Latin. I did not regret writing it, and I do not regret it. For indeed, the weariness of the body undergone in marching or sailing, seemed more bearable or diminished by thinking and writing about these things.

The weariness of the journey and the psychological impact of the expulsion is also noticeable in the opening lines of his short elegy *Finis Anni Patientis* (1770):

*Hic licet, pes fesse, licet requiescere; pes, sta
Sta, pes : territat heu! pulverulenta via.*

⁹ Furlong, 'Introduction', *Diario del Destierro* (1768), 54-55. It is interesting that the Spanish manuscript includes an illustration of the military leader Pasquale de Paoli of Corsica with the heading 'Pascal de Paoli, Generalissime des armes del Corses Legal. le Vaillant, L'Infatigable, le Defenseur de la Patrie, le Fraieur de ses Ennemis.' If this plate originally accompanied the 1768 manuscript, it is peculiar in its use of French. Coming from Peramás, it would constitute an unusual expression of admiration towards a European military figure. The tale of tiny Corsica struggling for independence from France and defending its republican experiment (1755-1769) would have perhaps resonated with the Paraguayan Jesuits who spent a few months there in 1768. Paoli was defeated at the Battle of Ponte Novu (May 1769), but Peramás could not have known about that when he finished the Spanish manuscript in December 1768.

¹⁰ Furlong, 'Introduction', *Diario del Destierro* (1768), 56-57.

¹¹ The fact that Peramás dedicated the Spanish version from Turin demonstrated that he moved around at the very least in northern Italy, and would have possibly been in contact with other Jesuit exiles in Romagna, including the Mexican Jesuits in Bologna.

¹² Qtd. in Furlong, 'Introduction', *Diario del Destierro*, 55.

*Pes, satis est; terramque gravem, pelagusque profundum
Vicinus: Huc fessos paxque quiesque vocant.*¹³

Here let me rest. Oh weary foot, stand still! Stand still, oh foot! The dusty road is frightening. Oh foot, it is enough. We have overcome burdened body and deep abyss. To this place peace and repose now summon the weary.

The pathetic plea for rest allowed Peramás to speak the unspeakable. For the *Pragmática Sanción* of 1767 contained a strict proscription against any written commentary or protest. In fact, all vassals were to keep silence on the subject of the expulsion. Thus, instead of discussing exile explicitly, the double-diary constitutes a narrative about ‘a year of suffering’ (*Annus patiens*), a veritable *via crucis*, a list of oppressive hardships that Peramás and his fellow exiles endured. Karen Stolley has analysed a similar ‘discourse of misery’ in the narratives of other Jesuit exiles such as Francisco Javier Clavigero and Francisco Javier Alegre.¹⁴ Any lamentations were placed in the mouths of the townspeople left behind in Córdoba, students, or the Indians. In lines 7-12 of Peramás’ elegy even American nature bewailed the plight of the Jesuits:

[...] *Paci*
Sacrific(a)s lacrymas Indica thura dedit.
Intonuit lacrymis sanctis Novus Orbis, et amnis
Argente(a) manans fletibus auxit aquam.
Paci, qua mundum circumvagus ambit utrumque
Oceanus, supplex obtulit ara preces.

Sacrificial tears were offered to peace as Indian incense. The New World cried out with holy tears, and the flowing *Rio de la Plata* increased its bounds with weeping. The Ocean which circles the world on all sides, with bended knee brought the offerings to the altar - for peace.

¹³ Jose Manuel Peramás, *Finis Anni Patientis elegia* in Benito Ochoa, trans., *Cinco Oraciones Laudatorias en honor del Dr. Ignacio Duarte y Quiros (Clarissimi viri D.D. Ignatii Duartii et Quirosii... laudationes quinque, etc.)* [A facsimile of the edition of 1766 with an introduction by Guillermo Furlong] (Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1937), 48-51.

¹⁴ Karen Stolley, ‘East from Eden: Domesticating Exile in Jesuit Accounts of the 1767 Expulsion from Spanish America’ in Marc André Bernier et al., eds., *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities* (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 243-262.

Aeneid II and Italy as the land of exile

In the Latin version of the diary, the Jesuits' pained compliance with the order of expulsion is explicitly compared to the fall of Troy. Peramás related how the Jesuits were escorted through the College of Córdoba at midnight with nothing but their breviaries, and quickly loaded onto carts. As he saw the familiar sights of corridors and rooms for the last time, Peramás wondered about the fate of the college where so many Jesuits had lived: 'Who will look after the temple, the graves of the priests, and the ashes of the graves? Will all this fall into the hands of rapacious soldiers?'¹⁵ In an outburst of emotion, Peramás turned to Virgil to express his sense of loss:

*Vestram, Superi, fidem! Vestram opem! Sed eundum est, sed parendum:
Venit summa dies et tempus ineluctabile. Fuimus Iesuitae. Fuit
Societas.*¹⁶

Heavenly ones, oh for your protection! Oh for your help! But we must go; we must obey. The last day has come, the inevitable time. We were Jesuits. The Society of Jesus is no more.

Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid* had described how Aeneas, rushing to battle after hearing about the Greek invasion of the city, came across the priest of Apollo, Panthus. The priest was going in the opposite direction, carrying 'his sacred relics, his defeated gods, and his small grandson in his arm'.¹⁷ When questioned by Aeneas Panthus began his dismal report of the loss of the city thus:

*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae: fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
transtulit; incensa Danaï dominantur in urbe.*¹⁸

¹⁵ Qtd. in Furlong, *Diario del Destierro*, 23: 'Mayor era nuestro dolor cuando pasábamos por aquellos corredores del colegio, al través de aquellos atrios y junto a los conocidos cuartos, que nunca más habíamos de ver, y donde durante tantos años vivieron nuestros antiguos Padres y habíamos nosotros vivido. ¿Nadie cuidará ya del templo, de los sepulcros de los Padres y de las sagradas cenizas de los sepulcros? ¿Todo esto irá a manos de soldados rapaces?'

¹⁶ Qtd. in Furlong, *Diario del Destierro*, 23.

¹⁷ Verg. A.2.320: *sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem.*

¹⁸ Verg. A.2.324-325.

The last day of Dardania has come, the inevitable time. We were Trojans. Ilium is no more, nor is the great might of the Trojans; cruel Jupiter has transferred all to Argos. The Greeks are masters of the burning city.

Aeneas took no notice of Panthus' warnings and continued in frenzy on his way to battle, although he later obeyed other divine injunctions and escaped. Yet while the destruction of Troy and exile was only the beginning of the story recounted in the *Aeneid*, Panthus' words as used by Peramás are almost a 'sepulchral inscription' which closed the Jesuit chapter of America.¹⁹ The Jesuit order would not be suppressed until Clement XIV's brief of July 1773, but the diary and elegy already contain a sense of loss of identity. In losing their colleges and missions, a great part of what it meant to be a Jesuit was already taken away. Panthus at least managed to escape with his sacred objects. The Jesuits had to leave behind all tangible memories of Spanish America, including relics of dead Jesuits ('the ashes of the graves') and their books.

Moreover, 1767 for Peramás constituted a double exile, from Spanish America *and* from Spain, his fatherland. Seeing Cádiz fade away in the distance, Peramás was overcome by a second wave of emotion. He was after all a Spaniard, and he would never again see his *patria*:

*Linquendi patrii fines, fratresque domusque
soror, e(t)mater squalida*²⁰, *flensque pater.*
*Non umquam posthac tellus Hispana videnda est.*²¹

We are leaving the confines of the *patria* and leaving behind brothers, a home, a sister, a wretched mother, and a weeping father. We are never to see Spanish lands again.

Cicero and coming home to Italy, the 'mother of eloquence'

Like the Trojans, the Jesuits had lost home and family. Yet Italy would hold no promise of empire for the Jesuits, as it had for Aeneas and his descendants, but

¹⁹ Suárez, 'La literatura neolatina del siglo XVIII y el exilio', 8.

²⁰ Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4.9.22: '*squalida senectus*'; Ov. *Met.* 15.35: '*squalidus manus*'. The use of '*squalida*' echoes another famous scene of exile from antiquity: the prophet Jeremiah mourning the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C, its complete destruction, and the exile of the Hebrews to Babylon; *Lamentations* 1: '*sacerdotes . . . gementes; squalidae . . . virgines*' ('weeping priests; wretched virgins').

²¹ Peramás, *Finis Anni Patientis elegia*, 45-47.

only the hope for rest. In spite of his laments over lost missions and homeland, for a humanist like Peramás coming to Italy could have felt like coming to a familiar place. His first sight of Italian shores, he asserted, moved him to repeat Cicero's words on returning from exile: [*Dixi vix potest*] *quae species Italiae, quae celebritas oppidorum, quae forma regionum, qui agri, quae fruges, quae pulchritudo urbium*, 'I can hardly say how beautiful Italy is. How renown are its cities, the different regions, the fields, the crops, and the splendour of its cities!' Once in Italy he would add *quae humanitas civium*, 'how civilised are its citizens!'²² This is still a Peramás who saw Italy as the 'mother of eloquence', as he had stated in the preface to his *Laudationes Quinque* (1766), where he had begged to be excused for any mistakes in style, claiming that Córdoba lay far from Rome:

Et cum latinum minus aliquid deprehenderis, reprehende, licet: at cogita, me haec ab Urbe Roma, id est, matre eloquentiae latinae, infinitis propemodum distantem spatiis, et in Orbe Novo, non Ciceroni cognito, non Terentio, aut Caesari scripsisse.

And if there is anything you find lacking in style, you may rebuke me: but consider that I have written far from the city of Rome, which is the mother of Latin eloquence, separated by a nearly infinite distance, and in a New World which has not known the likes of Cicero, Terence or Caesar.

Peramás' apparent humbleness in the *Laudationes* had been a device of *captatio beneveloentiae* to ingratiate himself with his audience. As we have seen, the *Laudationes Quinque* suggested the opposite - that classical learning was flourishing in Spanish America on the eve of the expulsion. As other Jesuits from Spain and Spanish America, Peramás was quite proud of his Latin learning. Italy should not have doubted the Latin learning of these Jesuit sons. Yet the exiles soon found themselves trying to prove that not only Italians could write in perfect Latin style.²³ Thus, by 1770 Peramás had realised that Italy afforded additional

²² Qtd. In Furlong, *Diario del Destierro*, 21. .f. Cic. *Red.pop.*1.4. Cicero has the singular 'urbis', referring to Rome, rather than the plural 'urbium'.

²³ See especially Arnold Kerson, 'Diego José Abad, *Dissertatio ludicro-seria* [1778]: edition, translation and notes' in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40. See also Andrew Laird, *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana*. (London: Duckworth, 2006), 26-28; Miguel Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966), 35.

challenges. He now called himself a ‘poet from another world, who blows barbarous instruments’.²⁴ This is a different kind of affected modesty than in the *Laudationes*: in his exile poetry Peramás now assumed an American poetic persona, challenging Italian detractors of Spanish American learning. This suggests that the exile experience in Italy led Peramás to identify more strongly with a Jesuit Spanish American literary circle.

De Invento Novo Orbe (1777)²⁵

This Columbus epic is of interest for several reasons. First, it allowed Peramás to retrace the journey of exile in his imagination and revisit America. The epic also conveyed Peramás’ conception of American history, where religion and civilisation form an inseparable duo that is contrasted to impiety and barbarism. This view converged in many ways with the vision of Christian governance that Peramás later set out in the *De administratione Guaranica*. Finally, the *De invento novo orbe* can be seen as a response to criticism of Spain’s role as a colonising power, which implicitly includes a defense of the Jesuit missionary effort which contributed to the colonising process, especially in Paraguay.

The text is in an octavo volume of 96 pages. The poem is 2,375 hexameters in length, divided into three books of about 800 verses each. It also includes a short introductory poem to the dedicatee of the epic, the creole saint Mariana de Jesús de Paredes y Flores, the ‘Lily of Quito.’ The first book of the epic begins the account of the discovery of America with the circumstances leading to Columbus’ voyage, advancing towards its essential theme in the third book: the introduction of ‘Christ’s Sacrifice’, the sacrament of the Eucharist, to

²⁴ Peramás, *Finis Annis Patientis elegia* 69-70: ‘Vos salvete jubet, ex Orbe Poeta / adveniens alio, barbara sistra sonans’ (‘It is right that you be praised, oh people of Faenza, by a poet coming from another World sounding barbarous instruments’).

²⁵ For a lengthier discussion of the epic’s themes, sources and context see Desiree Arbo and Andrew Laird, ‘Columbus, the Lily of Quito and the Black Legend: The Context of José Manuel Peramás’ Epic on the Discovery of the New World: *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777)’ in *Dieciocho: Journal of the Spanish Enlightenment* (2015). Parts of this section on the epic have been drawn from the article in *Dieciocho*.

the New World. The text on the frontispiece of the first and only edition is as follows:

JOSEPHI EMMANUELIS/PERAMASII/SACERDOTIS HISPANI/ *DE
INVENTO/ NOVO ORBE/ INDUCTO QUE ILLUC/ CHRISTI
SACRIFICIO* LIBRI TRES./FAVENTIAE MDCCLXXVII./EX
CHALCOGRAPHIA JOSEPHI ANTONII ARCHII. *SUPERIORIBUS
ANNUENTIBUS*

José Manuel Peramás, a Spanish Priest, *Three Books On the Discovery of the New World and the Introduction there of the Sacrifice of Christ's Mass*. Faenza 1777. The Press of Gioseffantonio Archi. With the Superiors' Assent.

The next verso page presents three quotations from the Latin Vulgate, given here in the King James version:

For, the islands wait for me, and the ships of the sea in the beginning: that I may bring thy sons from afar: their silver, and their gold with them, to the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee. (Isaiah 60: 9)

Go, ye swift angels to a nation rent and torn in pieces: to a terrible people, after which there is no other: to a nation expecting and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled (Isaiah 18: 2)

For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered a clean oblation. (Malachi 1: 11)

The significance of the epigraphs for the poem's theme can be traced back to Columbus himself. Perceiving the significance of the New World for Christian eschatology, Columbus had instituted the tradition of assembling apparent biblical and classical references to the Americas in his *Libro de las profecías*, which he compiled during 1501-3.²⁶ The epigraphs, the dedication poem and

²⁶ On Columbus' use of scripture see James Romm, 'Biblical History and the Americas: The Legend of Solomon's Ophir' in Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West 15450-1800* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 27-46. On Columbus' interpretation of Seneca see James Romm 'New World and "novos orbes": Seneca in the Renaissance Debate over Ancient Knowledge of the Americas' in Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, eds., *The Classical Tradition and the Americas* (Berlin and New York: W. De Gruyter, 1994), 77-116.

the prologue that follow frame the way Peramás intended his epic to be read, that is, as a celebration of the evangelisation of America and Spain's role in it.

Moreover, the main instruments of Spain were the 'angels' of Isaiah 18: the Jesuits. The *Imago primi saeculi*, an anthology which celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Company of Jesus in 1640, took this verse as a prophecy of the history and success of the Jesuit missions in India and Japan. In the *Imago* the 'swift angels' were the Jesuits, whose victory was assured by their sacrifices. Their work would change the 'terrible people' (Indians) into civilised humans, their rent nations into stable communities, and their spoilt lands into productive fields. Religion, conveyed through the Jesuits, would bring civilisation and holiness. An example of Jesuit success in America is the dedicatee of the poem: the creole ascetic Mariana de Jesús.

The Dedication: Celebrating Creole Saints

The verses beginning on the third page were addressed to Mariana de Jesús de Paredes y Flores (1618-1645) who was canonised in 1817, forty years after Peramás published the epic. Born in Quito to a Spanish father and to a mother from a privileged creole family, Mariana de Paredes was inclined to prayer, extreme mortification and fasting from early childhood, reportedly sustaining herself by the Eucharist alone. She entered the Third Order of St Francis but spent her life under the guidance of Jesuit confessors. She was reputed to have been able to discern others' secret thoughts, to predict the future and to see distant events she was not present to witness. Amidst the epidemics plaguing Quito after the 1645 earthquake, Mariana publicly offered herself as a sacrificial victim for the city, and died shortly afterwards. According to an early account published in 1702 by a Jesuit from Quito, Jacinto Morán de Butrón, Mariana had had a barber purge her regularly during her final illness, and a maidservant had collected her blood in a pit in the garden. A few days after Mariana's death, the servant witnessed a prodigy: lilies were growing from the pool of her

mistress' fresh blood – a miracle which earned Mariana de Jesús her title of 'Lily of Quito.'²⁷

The significance of Mariana de Jesús for Peramás lies in her desire for a religious epic. According to the poet, Mariana's desire for virtue had always led her to reject the continent's abundant gold and jewels. She would not be moved by poetry of classical inspiration ('songs boasting of the vain springs of Apollo's mountain'). She would prefer a poet who sounded out praise of the Eucharist which the 'ruler of heaven' granted to pagan peoples, rather than a poet who explained the secrets of nature and the production of American gold. The epic would accordingly praise Jesus' passage across the ocean to Quito and to previously unknown parts of the world:

*Virgo dulci Novi decus et laus maxima Mundi,
Indica, quae sistit tibi vates, carmina blando
Accipe, QUITENSI veniens è limite, vultu.
Auriferae vastas AMERICAЕ pandimus oras,
Donaque Coelicolum magni per murmura ponti
Herculeas ultra sequimur transvecta columnas* (lines 1-6).

Virgin, the **New World's sweet pride and greatest glory**,
Receive these Indian verses, which the poet renders to you,
coming from Quito's boundary, with your pleasant demeanour.
We are throwing open the vast shores of America rich in gold,
and heaven's gifts, born across through the great ocean's roar,
we pursue beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Peramás placed the poet in the centre (*sequimur*) of line 6, framed on either end by the *Herculeas... columnas*. In this way Peramás began his journey of retracing exile in his imagination, following Columbus and the 'heavenly gifts' as they were carried beyond Europe through the Pillars of Hercules, until he arrived at America. Just as Ignacio Duarte's virtues and riches served Córdoba in the *Laudationes Quinque*, so Mariana de Jesús' exemplary life added to the luster of her native *patria* of Quito. However, Peramás' dedication also hailed Mariana as the pride of the New World more generally: *Urbis honos, Orbisque Novus super aethera vecti*, 'the renown of your City and of the New World are

²⁷ Jacinto Morán de Butrón, *La azucena de Quito* (Lima: Por Joseph de Contreras, 1702), 18. Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity* shows how Morán de Butrón's life appropriated Mariana for the Jesuits as well as for Quito (99-118).

borne above the skies' (line 26). The scope of the epic is thus broader than the *Laudationes Quinque*, for Mariana de Jesús belonged both to Quito and the entire New World.

The Prologue and Sources of *De invento novo orbe*

Jesuit poets often wrote short prefaces to explain the purpose of their works, identify their sources, and to show how they differed from their predecessors – for those exiled in Italy such prefaces had the further function of anticipating or averting criticism from Italian academicians who were prone to challenge their credentials and to question the quality of their Latin learning.²⁸ In his prologue, Peramás began by saying he would follow the practice of ancient and more recent Latin poets who did not supply explanatory notes to their works. He listed the Roman authors Lucretius, Virgil, Horace and Ovid in chronological order. It is striking that Lucretius is named first. The reception of Lucretius among Jesuits was ambivalent: his *De rerum natura* was valued as a source for atomic theory and verse composition alike in the 1600s, but Melchior de Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius: De Deo et natura* (1747) had refuted many of the poem's arguments.²⁹ Lucretian influence however was evident in the work of several prominent Jesuits exiled to Italy from New Spain, including Francisco Javier Clavigero and Diego José Abad.³⁰ Peramás himself would have studied Lucretius at the University of Cervera.

The opening of Book 1 of the *De invento novo orbe* echoed Lucretius, as well as the first verse of Homer's *Odyssey* (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, 'Of a man sing to me, Muse) and of Virgil's *Aeneid* (*Arma virumque cano*..., 'I sing of arms and a man ...'). Peramás, calling himself a 'nascent poet', began his poem with references to a great man and a plea for inspiration from the Muse:

²⁸ Andrew Laird, 'Patriotism and the Rise of Latin', 236-7.

²⁹ See Yasmin Haskell, 'Religion and Enlightenment in the Neo-Latin Reception of Lucretius' in Stuart Gillespie and Philip Hardie, eds. In *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 185-201. On Lucretius' reception in the Spanish Enlightenment see Angel Traver Vera, *Lucrecio en España*, 2 vols. PhD thesis. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2009), 483-625.

³⁰ Andrew Laird, 'Patriotism and the rise of Latin', 171-2. In his *Dissertatio ludicro-seria* (1778), Abad echoed Lucretius' *De rerum natura* 3.1-30 in a tribute to Rafael Campoy, a progressive Jesuit philosopher in New Spain.

*Vir mihi magnanimus, duce quo caelestia coenae
Munera divinae vasti per murmura ponti
In Mundum transvecta Novum, Solemque cadentem
Carmen erit. vatem pavidis te, Musa, sequentem
Passibus, ignotas da tecum excurrere in oras,
Occiduumque diem, et terrarum invisere fines...
... Orbisque sinus **lustrare** latent.*³¹

A **man** of great soul, under whose leadership the heavenly gift of the divine feast was carried over the roaring of the vast ocean to the New World and the setting sun, he will be **my song**. Muse, allow the poet, **following you** with fearful steps, to run forth with you to unknown shores, to the setting of the day, and to visit the earth's bounds... **to shed light** on the concealed hollows of the globe.

Again, the poet sought to revisit America in his imagination, by asking the Muse to lead him to the 'unknown shores'. In addition, the desire to follow in Columbus' footsteps as he brought light to hidden parts of the world recalled Lucretius' eulogy of Epicurus, the audacious 'discoverer' (*inventor*) who revealed the nature of the whole universe to mankind:

*E tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
qui primus potuisti **inlustrans** commoda vitae,
te sequor, o Graiae gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
ficta pedum pono pressis vestigia signis.*³²

I follow you, who was first able to bring the light out of deep darkness, **shedding light** upon the benefits of life, glory of the Greek race, and in the traces you imprinted I now fashion and plant my own trail.

Two of the four 'more recent' poets named in the prologue were humanists from the Italian *cinquecento*, and two were Jesuits born in the mid-1600s. Girolamo Fracastoro (1478-1553), was the first Latin poet to treat Columbus in Book 3 of his *Syphilis, sive Morbi Gallici* (1530), while Jacopo Sannazaro's Virgilian epic on the Virgin birth, *De partu virginis* (1526) had long been

³¹ Peramás, *De invento novo orbe* 1.1-6, 1.12. Emphases are my own.

³² Lucr. 3.1-4.

emulated by subsequent Latin poets.³³ The *De orbe invento novo*, like those Renaissance poems, was in three books. The Jesuits acknowledged by Peramás were Jacques Vanière (1664-1739) and Tommaso Ceva (1648-1737). Vanière's lasting influence on Peramás will be discussed below. Ceva had published an epic on Christ's childhood, *Iesus Puer* (1690) and *Philosophia novo-antiqua*, 'Philosophy Ancient and Modern' (1704), a set of verse dissertations opposing Lucretius.³⁴ Moreover, contrary to his opening avowal, Peramás appended some long notes to his own text at the poem's close, for instance citing Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's 'eyewitness testimony' (*testis ejus rei oculatus*) to demonstrate the fidelity of his poetic account of hurricanes being dispelled by the introduction of the sacrament to the Americas.³⁵

The Prologue also identified prose sources for the epic. All were from the sixteenth century: Fernández de Oviedo had travelled to Hispaniola, and Pedro Cieza to South America, while the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was a *mestizo* born in Peru. Though Peter Martyr, Francisco López de Gómara and Antonio de Herrera never left Europe, they made extensive use of testimonies of those who had been to the Americas: the first Decade of Martyr's *De orbe novo* (1511) – a title saluted in Peramás' own – drew from Columbus' letters, and Gómara knew Hernán Cortés. Peramás' evident predilection for histories based on direct observation was shared by many other exiled creole Jesuit historians, scientists and poets.³⁶

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has used the term 'patriotic epistemology' to describe this Americanist historiographical tendency spearheaded by Francisco Javier Clavigero: sources originating in the Americas (including chronicles by missionaries and native writers) were held up in opposition to the conjectural histories of the New World propounded by 'Enlightened' Europeans, most notably Guillaume Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des*

³³ Geoffrey Eatough, *Fracastoro's Syphilis* and Jacopo Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry* edited by Michael Putnam are texts and translations.

³⁴ Yasmin Haskell "Sleeping with the Enemy" examines Ceva's *Philosophia novo-antiqua*. Verses from *Iesus Puer* (on gold from the New World adorning the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome) are quoted in Peramás' note on *De invento novo orbe* 3.758.

³⁵ *De invento novo orbe* 3.644. Cf. Oviedo, *Corónica de las Indias* 6.3.

³⁶ Cf. Rafael Landívar *Rusticatio Mexicana* (1782), v: 'I relate those things which I have seen and those that have been told to me by eyewitnesses [*testes oculati*].'

établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes (1770), Cornelius de Pauw's *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* (1771), and William Robertson's *History of America* (1777).³⁷ Peramás also gave prominence to personal observation in his *Annus patiens* (1768-69) and later in *De administratione Guaranica* (1792). In the epic's prologue he emphasised that he had incorporated things which he had seen for himself when he 'lived among the Indians for some time', even though he conceded that he had taken poetic licence in unifying Columbus' separate voyages for aesthetic effect.

In addition, Peramás mentioned two Italian poets who made the achievements of Columbus the specific subject of their Latin epics: Lorenzo Gambara's *De navigatione Christophori Columbi* (1581) in four books and Ubertino Carrara's *Columbus* (1715), in twelve books, after the template of Virgil's *Aeneid*.³⁸ Peramás distinguished his own poem from those Columbus epics, not on the basis of its historical foundations, but because of its subject. His dissatisfaction with them led him to state that the earlier poets 'had not set themselves the purpose, which is my concern, of dealing especially with the *Introduction of Christ's Sacrifice* into the New World, a principal part of our work'.³⁹ His concern to exalt Columbus in the style of the ancients and keep the discovery within the grandiose plan of salvation is reflected in the bipartite title: *De Invento Novo Orbe inductoque illuc Christi Sacrificio*.

³⁷ See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, pp. 206-210, building on the discussion in Brading *The First America*, 447-464 and Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World*.

³⁸ Peramás did not acknowledge other Columbus epics such as Giulio Cesare Stella's *Columbeid* (1585), *Atlantis resecta* (1659) by the German Vincent Plack [Vincentius Placcius], or the Bohemian Alois de Mickl's *Plus ultra* (c.1730). These are discussed in Heinz Hofmann, 'Adveniat tandem Typhis qui detegat orbes. Columbus in Neo-Latin Epic Poetry (16th – 18th Centuries)' in Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Rheinhold, eds. *The Classical Tradition and the Americas* (Berlin and New York: W. De Gruyter, 1994): 421-656. Peramás' epic seems to have evaded Hoffman's study of Columbus epics. For a discussion of the bibliographical history of the poem and its importance within the corpus of Columbus epics see Maya Feile Tones, 'News of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic, Part I. José Manuel Peramás's *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777)', *IJCT* 22 no. 1 (2015): 1-28; Maya Feile Tones, 'News of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic... Part II', *IJCT* 22 no. 2 (2015): 223-257.

³⁹ *De invento novo orbe*, Prologue, p. 9.

The Epic as a response to the 'Black Legend'

Peramás' poetic project can also be regarded as a response to what in modern times became known as the 'Black Legend', which developed from propaganda that was heavily critical of Spain in other European nations. The term was given currency in Spanish historiography by Julián Juderías' *La leyenda negra* (1914), which pointed to the suspicion, envy and indignation of other Europeans at the success of the Spanish conquest as the root of the 'Black Legend'.⁴⁰ The Italian historian Niccolò Guasti explained that prejudices inherited from previous ages were systemised by the European Enlightenment. He concluded that the Inquisition, the conquest of the America and the perceived underdevelopment of the Hispanic world were the three major issues underlying that construction of the Black Legend in the 1700s.⁴¹

The critique of Spain, which may well have originated in sixteenth-century Italy, was revived by Voltaire and Montesquieu and further endorsed by later Enlightenment historians. Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* (1770) and Robertson's *History of America* (1777) questioned the value of the missionary endeavours of Spain and Portugal, as well as the colonial enterprises of those powers.⁴² Spanish Jesuit exiles, paradoxically, provided staunch defense of Spain. One notable example is Juan Nuix y de Perpinyà's *Riflessioni imparziali sopra l'Umanità degli Spagnuoli nell'Indie contro i pretesi Filosofi e Politici, per servire di lume alle store de' Signori Raynal e Robertson* (Venice: Francesco Pezzan, 1780).⁴³ The impact of Nuix, a fellow Catalan of Peramás, is evidenced by the publication of two separate Spanish translations of his work (with royal approval) between 1782 and 1783.⁴⁴ For Nuix, as for other Spanish

⁴⁰ Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra* (1914) gave the term currency. See also Roberto Fernández Retamar 'Against the Black Legend,' in *Caliban and Other Essays*, Edward Baker, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 56-73.

⁴¹ Guasti, *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli*, 372-373.

⁴² Ibid., 363-395.

⁴³ See Niccolò Guasti, 'I gesuiti spagnoli espulsi e l'apologia della Conquista del Nuovo Mondo: le *Riflessioni imparziali* di Juan Nuix' in Maria Grazia Profeti, ed., *Giudizi e Pregiudizi: Percezione dell'altro e stereotipi tra Europa e Mediterraneo. Atti del seminario Firenze, 10-14 giugno 2008* vol. 10 (Florence: Alinea, 2009), 339-394.

⁴⁴ *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias, contra los pretendidos filósofos y políticos. Para ilustrar las historias de MM. Raynal y Robertson...* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, Impresor de Cámara de S.M., con Privilegio, 1782); *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias, contra los pretendidos filósofos, y*

Jesuits, the ‘humanity’ of the conquistadores, the nature of the conquest, and the very honour of Spain were at stake.

The conquest of America had been at the heart of Spanish self-examination since the 1550 public debates of Valladolid. Bartolomé de Las Casas had pointed out the cruelty of conquistadors and insisted that the Amerindians be treated as free men, while Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda had upheld that Indians were by nature fit for slavery and that Spaniards had a responsibility to act as masters, if necessary, to aid the conversion process. David Brading has located the beginning of the ‘imperialist’ school of thought in Sepúlveda, though it was later tempered to include a providentialist view of the conquest and the benign rule of the Spanish kings.⁴⁵ By celebrating Columbus and the heroes of the conquest as bearers of the ‘divine gifts’ Peramás seemed to align himself with a pro-Spanish ‘imperialist tradition’ of the conquest.

Peramás affected only to tell the truth in his poem, leaving specific refutations of Spain’s detractors and of religion’s enemies to historians and orators. Yet he made his own opinion very clear in the prologue: it is mean-spirited, he stated, to dwell on the faults of heroes ‘in order to disgrace them in the mouths of men’; and one who would do so is ‘like the idle drone whose mouth and sting is not for sucking honey from flowers, as bees do, but for disturbing and ruining their honeycombs, which are born of so much labour’.⁴⁶ In a similar line, though in plainer terms, Nuix argued that excesses by the conquistadores were the result of individual initiative, and not the consequence of an official position of the Spanish crown.⁴⁷ For Peramás, as for Nuix, focusing on the faults of individual conquistadores distorted the overall vision of the conquest, which

políticos, para servir de luz a la historia de los señores Raynal, y Robertson. . . (Cervera: Imprenta de la Pontificia y Real Universidad, con Privilegio, 1783).

⁴⁵ Brading, *The First America*, 79-101, 184-213.

⁴⁶ Prologue, 10: ‘*similis ignavo fuco, cui non, ut apibus, os est & aculeus sugendo melli è floribus, quod illae faciunt; sed apum ipsarum favis, tanto partis labore, exturbandis, corrumpendisque.*’ Cf. Liv. 2.38.3: ‘*vos... traductos per ora hominum*’ (‘you... have been disgraced in the mouths of men’). Peramás here recalled Vanière’s comparison of the Paraguayan Indians to bees on the strength of their industry and capacity to work peacefully for the common good. Vanière will reappear as a prominent source in Peramás’ *De administratione guaranica* (1793).

⁴⁷ Guasti, ‘I gesuiti spagnoli espulsi e l’apologia della Conquista del Nuovo Mondo’, 342.

according to them should be regarded as the greatest evangelising and civilising enterprise in history.

The Later Period (1777-1793): De administratione guaranica and Jesuit notions of nation, patria and statehood in the missions of Paraguay

In May of 1793 a set of biographies by Peramás was published in Faenza, Italy: *De vita et moribus tredecim virorum Paraguaycorum*, 'The Lives and Habits of Thirteen Paraguayan Men.' Published posthumously, with its unassuming title the work seems to be a standard example of the Jesuit exemplary biography.⁴⁸ It was in fact the second instalment of biographies by Peramás. The first - *De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum Paraguaycom* (1791) - was the subject of acclaim even in the Rio de la Plata, as attested by the correspondence of the exiled Jesuit Gaspar Juárez to Don Ambrosio Funes in Córdoba.⁴⁹ What made the second set of biographies unique was that it contained as its introduction an extensive prose treatise entitled *De administratione guaranica comparate ad Rempublicam Platonis commentarius*: 'A Commentary Comparing the Administration of the Guarani to Plato's Republic'.

The treatise has attracted the most attention among Peramás' works from historians as well as philosophers, anthropologists and literary scholars. In the early twentieth century scholars discussed whether it constituted an account of communism in the missions. More recent studies fall into two areas. One consists of a literary-historical study of the utopian nature of the treatise within a broader literature on the development of the myth of the Noble Savage or the mythical image of the Jesuit missions.⁵⁰ The other focuses on the polemical nature of the

⁴⁸ Other examples of Jesuit exemplary biography include: Rodrigues de Melo, *Vita Venerabilis Patris Emmanuelis Correæ E Societate Jesu in Brasilia Missionarii* (In Fano S. Martini: 1790); Juan Luis Maneiro, *De vitis aliquot mexicanorum* 3 vols. (Bononiae: Ex Typographia Laelii a Vulpe, 1791-1792).

⁴⁹ Furlong, 'Introduction', *Diario del Destierro*, 44. The three copies listed in the catalogue of the library of Buenos Aires attest to the popularity of the first set of biographies, which appeared in a Spanish translation in 1946. The six biographies are of the following Jesuits: Manuel de Vergara, Manuel Querini, Pedro Juan Andreu, Juan Escandón, Vicente Sans and Sigismundo Grieria.

⁵⁰ Stelio Cro 'Guaranica: De administratione guaranica comparata ad rempublicam Platonis commentarius' in *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies* 17 no.48-49 (1994). Girolamo Imbruglia, *L'invenzione del Paraguay* (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1983) is the most comprehensive study of the

treatise as a response to the philosophers of the Enlightenment and as a reaction to the French Revolution.⁵¹ Both areas overlap, for the polemical nature of the text is bound to determine any literary or historical analysis.

Presentation of the text and argument

The *De administratione guaranica* and the thirteen Lives are found, along with a prose dedication to Saint John Nepomucene and an anonymous biography of José Manuel Peramás himself, in an octavo volume.⁵² The length of *De administratione guaranica* belies its humble presentation as an introduction to the biographies.⁵³ With its 162 pages comprising 35% of the 462-page volume, it could be read as a complete work in its own right, as has in fact been common practice among the scholars mentioned above.⁵⁴ The treatise appears deceptively

ideological process by which the image of the missions developed in European imagination. See also A. Armani, *Città di Dio e Città del Sole. Lo Stato gesuita dei Guarani. 1609-1768* (Roma: Studium, 1977).

⁵¹ The *De administratione guaranica* has thus been subject to a variety of interpretations: as an account of ‘missionary socialism’, as utopian literature, as an ethnographic and historical source, and as a robust defence of Catholic and Jesuit values against the criticism from Enlightenment *philosophes*. As a response to the theories of American degeneracy by De Pauw and Raynal see Miguel Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966); A. Gerbi, J. Moyle, trans. *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900* (Pittsburgh; London: Media Directions Inc., [1955] 1973; A. Caturelli ‘Ciudad platónica y ciudad cristiana en el Nuevo Mundo: el pensamiento de José Manuel Peramás’ in *Verbo* 301/302 (1992): 17-32. As a reaction against the French Revolution see especially F. Melai, ‘Sul significato del “platonismo” di Peramás nel suo *Commentarius* (1793)’ in *Società e Storia* no. 134 (2011); M. Morales, ‘¿Guaraníes? No, aqueos. Una lectura de la obra de José Manuel Peramás *De Administratione Guaranica* comparate ad *Rempubicam Platonis commentarius* (1793)’ in P. Chinchilla, ed., *Los jesuitas formadores de ciudadanos. La educación dentro y fuera de sus colegios. Siglos XVI-XVI* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2010). On early twentieth-century debates about the ‘communism of the missions’ see Furlong, ‘Introduction’, *Diario del Destierro*, 78-79.

⁵² The title of the dedication reads: DIVO JOANNI NEPOMUCENO/ PRIMO MARTYRI/SACRAMENTALIS SILENTI.⁵² ‘To the divine John Nepomucene, first martyr of the Sacrament of Silence.’ The choice of dedicatee alone signals the apologetic nature of the work. John Nepomucene was a 14th century priest thrown into the Vltava River in Prague for refusing to reveal the contents of the confession of the Queen of Bohemia, according to legend. A marble statue in the Jesuit professions-house of Antwerp commemorated the saint as the protector against all their ‘blasphemous and false accusers’; James Hilton, *Chronograms, 5000 and more in number, excerpted out of various authors and collected at many places* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882).

⁵³ The thirteen biographies are of the following Jesuits: Ignacio Morro, Johann Messner, Juan Suárez, Ignacio Chomé, Francisco Ruiz de Villegas, Juan Ángel Amilaga, Antonio del Castillo, Esteban Palozzi, Clemente Baigorri, Francisco Urrejola, Joaquín Iribarren, Cosme Agullo, and Martin Schmid.

⁵⁴ Fabrizio Melai alone has suggested that the biographies and *De administratione guaranica* must be seen as parts of a single apologetic project; Melai, ‘Sul significato del “platonismo” di Peramás’, 676.

simple, proposing in the introduction to demonstrate that ‘something similar to the findings of Plato has existed among the Guarani Indians.’⁵⁵ Lest his comparative exercise seem unimportant, Peramás emphasised that it was intimately connected with the role of Christian doctrine in promoting the common good, which he considered the best argument to refute anti-religious philosophers.

Peramás’ avowed method was simple enough: to state Plato’s thought on each topic, paraphrased by Peramás, followed by a description of the Guarani missions.⁵⁶ The reader was told to draw his own conclusions about the similarities or differences between the two. The thirty chapters can be arranged in the following way:

- Chapters 1-7: an account of the layout of the missions.
- Chapter 8-15: ethnographic chapters on marriage, education, music, dance, work, feasts, and the arts.
- Chapters 16-17: a ‘digression’ on the development of the arts and the origin of society.
- Chapters 18-23: on commerce, visitors, dress, authorities, laws and discipline, with a heightened emphasis on defending the labours of the Jesuits against slanders.
- Chapters 24-25: a sustained refutation of Raynal and other *philosophes*.
- Chapters 26-27: on punishments and funerals.
- Chapters 28-30: Epilogue, the ‘Apostrophe against the liberal philosophers’ and the Conclusion, with final comments against irreligious philosophers and the French Revolution.

This section shows that by the eighteenth century Paraguay and its missions had come to occupy a prominent place in anti-Jesuit European discourse. One of the tenets of the anti-Jesuit argument was that the Jesuits acted as de facto rulers of Paraguay. It is here argued that in the *De administratione guaranica* Peramás

⁵⁵ *De adm.* Intro.2 [2004, 27]: ‘quiddam simile existisse Platonis inventis inter Guaranios Indos’. Translations of *De administratione guaranica* into English are my own.

⁵⁶ Peramás considers that Plato is more prudent and moderate in the *Laws*, the work of a more mature Plato; *De adm.* 9.57 [2004, 67]. In fact Peramás refers more often to the *Laws* than the *Republic*.

attempted to describe an ideal Christian state which at the same time was not independent from the Spanish crown. Yet his method – a comparison of the missions with Plato's *Republic* and other texts like Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum* – strengthened this very image of the Paraguayan missions as an ideal autonomous state. Indeed, this quality led Stelio Cro to conjecture about the revolutionary nature of the *De administratione guaranica*, suggesting that it caused the piece to be disguised as the introduction to the biographies.⁵⁷ However, Peramás' devotion to the Jesuit principles of hierarchy and order, his lament for the lost tranquillity of the *ancien regime* in the wake of the French Revolution, and his continued Eurocentric Christian vision of the conquest suggest a conservative agenda. It also makes it unlikely that Peramás could have envisioned a completely autonomous Jesuit-Guarani state.

This section will first trace the development of a Jesuit discourse on the missions which Peramás would engage with in his *De administratione guaranica*. It will then explore a few passages where the use of Latin texts was particularly important for Peramás' description of the missions as the ideal state, namely Plato on the isolation of the missions, Cicero on the concept of nation, and Tacitus and the eighteenth-century poet Vanière on the communal system of the missions. Peramás' use of Virgil in the final pages of his work brings the chapter to a close, where the allusions to the *Aeneid* allowed Peramás to identify the enemies of the Jesuits with those of Spanish Americans and Indians, i.e.: the *philosophes* and the Portuguese.

At the frontier of the Spanish Empire: The Jesuits in Paraguay (1609-1767) and relations with the neighbouring Portuguese

In comparison to other religious orders such as the Franciscans, the Society of Jesus arrived late in the Rio de la Plata. The first Jesuits arrived at Asunción in the 1580s and dedicated themselves to preaching, teaching and baptising the population. At the invitation of Hernando Arias de Saavedra (1564-1634), the first creole governor of Spanish America, Jesuits of Asunción went into the remote areas of the province and established the first Guarani mission or *reducción* of San

⁵⁷ Stelio Cro, 'Guaranica', 3, 49.

Ignacio Guazú in 1609. By 1650, the Jesuits had founded thirty missions along the Paraná and Uruguay rivers, serving (for the Spanish) as a buffer against Portuguese expansion.

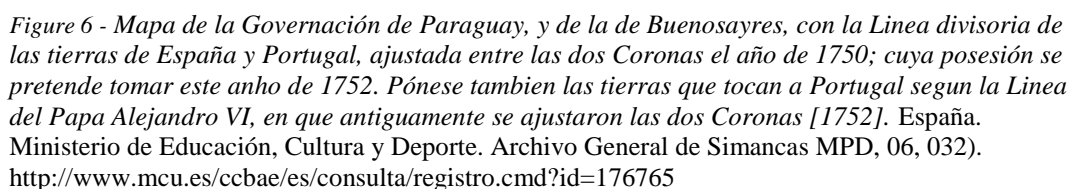
Raids by the inhabitants of São Paulo, the dreaded Paulistas or *mamelucos*, made the Portuguese threat all too real. Between 1628 and 1631 alone as many as sixty thousand Guarani Indians were enslaved and taken to the Brazilian coast to work on sugar plantations, estates, or households. This was illegal according to Spanish and Portuguese royal law, but in spite of Jesuit lobbying in Madrid and even the threat of excommunication from Rome in 1639 the *paulistas* continued to constitute a threat.⁵⁸ A royal *cédula* of 1679 finally granted the Jesuits permission to keep weapons in the missions, in spite of the protestations of the people of Asunción, who feared Indian uprisings and had urged that weapons be kept in their city. By then however the Jesuits had already formed a Guarani military force. In 1641 a Guarani army of four thousand defeated a force of three thousand paulistas (including Indian allies) at the battle of Mbororé. The Guarani militia was led by Domingo Torres, a Jesuit who was a veteran of the Spanish army.⁵⁹ In spite of the recurrence of epidemics and several relocations, the missions prospered. According to the 1767 census quoted by Peramás, the missions were home to 93,191 people.⁶⁰

The Treaty of Madrid in 1750 between Spain and Portugal, in an attempt to define the boundaries of their American possessions, was a watershed in the history of the missions. The treaty gave Portugal the land east of the Uruguay River which contained seven prosperous missions, in exchange for the Colonia do Sacramento at the estuary of the Rio de la Plata. The 1752 map below, attributed to the Spanish missionary José Cardiel (1704-1782), shows the extent of the Portuguese possessions according to the Treaty in yellow. The thirty missions are contained within the area signalled by the dotted line. In red is the demarcation line set by Pope Alexander VI in 1494 (Treaty of Tordesillas). Cardiel's own suggested line of demarcation (in green) lay in between the Tordesillas and Madrid lines, following the Tebiquary rather than Uruguay river. The explanation

⁵⁸ Ganson, *The Guarani Under Spanish Rule*, 45.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ In another instance in *De administratione guaranica* he gives a different number: 88,864.



Cardiel is an important figure for our purposes because in *De administratione* Peramás acknowledged him as a companion in exile with whom he had conversed about the missions. Cardiel had worked among the *mocovíes* before famously setting out on an expedition along the coasts of the Patagonia to find a suitable site for a mission in 1746, travelling further south than previous Europeans.⁶¹ In 1750 Cardiel returned to Paraguay, and in 1752 he wrote to the delegate of the Superior General Fr. Lope Luis Altamirano to express his view that the Treaty of Madrid was unjust and not binding, hoping to prevent its implementation. The map illustrated these views, constituting ‘a visual argument in defense of the stability of the Jesuit reductions and the integrity of the Spanish possessions in the River Plate.’⁶² Altamirano confidentially forwarded the map to the treaty commissioner the Marquis of Valdelirios, but ordered Cardiel to remain silent on the issue.⁶³ Peramás, whose missionary experience had been less extensive, would have had immediate access to Cardiel’s knowledge in Faenza.

The Treaty of Madrid had profound consequences for the history of the missions. The Guaraní refused to relocate to the western bank of the Uruguay River in what is known as the Guaraní War of 1754-1756, or the War of the Seven Reductions. The war was disastrous for the Indians. Combined Spanish and Portuguese forces crushed Indian military resistance at the battle of Caiboaté in 1756, which resulted in the massacre of about 1300 Guaraní in just over an hour (only four of the 3700 Luso-Hispanic contingent died). Cardiel had witnessed the war while acting as confessor of the Spanish-Portuguese troops, where he also encountered the anonymous *Relação abreviada*, attributed to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, the Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782).⁶⁴ Indignant at the

⁶¹ José Cardiel, *Diario del viaje y misión al río del Sauce realizado en 1748*, ed. G. Furlong (Buenos Aires, 1930). Cf. José Cardiel, *Carta y relación de las misiones de la provincia del Paraguay*, Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, ed. [Escritores coloniales rioplatenses 2] (Buenos Aires: Libería del Plata, 1953).

⁶² Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and the Río de la Plata* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 197.

⁶³ *DHCJ* Vol.1, 654-655.

⁶⁴ *Relação abreviada da república que os religiosos Jesuítas das províncias de Portugal e Espanha estabeleceram nos domínios ultramarinos das duas monarquias; e da guerra que neles tem movido e sustentado contra os exércitos espanhóis e portugueses, formada pelos registos das secretarias e dos dois respectivos principais comissários e plenipotenciários e pos outros documentos autênticos* (1756). See also Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19-20.

dissemination of the lies of the *Relação* among the Spanish troops, Cardiel wrote the *Declaración de la Verdad* to refute its arguments – a work which remained unpublished until 1900.⁶⁵ Peramás would later echo Cardiel's emphasis on the role of the Portuguese, and specifically Pombal, in leading up to the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Portugal expelled the Jesuits in 1758, with Spain following suit in 1767 after they were rumoured to having been involved in the 1766 Esquilache riots of Madrid - ostensibly caused by the Marquis of Esquilache's unpopular measures to reform Spanish dress according to French fashion, but reflecting deeper economic and political concerns.⁶⁶ Until the riots the Jesuits had not seemed a public menace, even though the Guarani rebellion discredited them. In fact, the Treaty of Madrid had been nullified by Charles III in 1761 and Indian militias were still active in service of the Spanish governor Pedro de Cevallos in the 1760s. Their most prominent involvement in the Rio de la Plata was at the 1762 siege of the Colonia do Sacramento, held at the time by the Portuguese, allies of Britain, with whom Spain was at war. This siege was part of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), an international conflict which played out in different parts of the world, including the Rio de la Plata. This conflict signals the importance of Guarani-Portuguese relations in forging a sense of Guarani patriotism, which will be discussed below. From the beginning of the history of the missions in the seventeenth century until the 1760s, the Guarani had been in continual warfare with Portuguese neighbours. Peramás will hint at Indian patriotism but will not develop it, most likely because it could be seen to contradict his portrayal of the Guarani as model citizens and obedient subjects of the Spanish monarch.

Origins of Jesuit discourse on the missions: Responding to European and American critics

⁶⁵ José Cardiel, *Declaración de la Verdad. Obra inédita*. Pablo Hernández, ed. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Juan A. Alsina, 1900). Unpublished, the manuscript travelled from Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro among the papers of Pedro de Angelis after the defeat of the dictator Rosas in 1852. General Bartolomé Mitre made a copy of the manuscript while he was in Río de Janeiro, which was the copy used by Hernández.

⁶⁶ Stolley, 'East from Eden', 243.

The development of Jesuit discourse of the missions went back to the first days of its missionary activities in the sixteenth century, when Jesuits were already the subject of criticism. In France they were especially hated by the Jansenists, who accused Jesuits of being morally lax and power-hungry.⁶⁷ Jesuits retorted with forceful propaganda showcasing the missions as proof of their zeal and willingness to suffer for the sake of the conversion of Indians.

Along with Jacques Vanière, who praised the Indians' capacity for communal living in his influential didactic poem *Praedium Rusticum* (1730), three texts informed European views on the missions in the eighteenth century. The *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1708-1776), a collection of letters sent by Jesuits from the foreign missions, brought the missions to European attention early in the eighteenth century. They idealised the missions as a 'miracle in the history of the world: a reconstruction of the forms of the primitive church, functioning successfully in the era of the new commercial society'.⁶⁸ Ludovico Antonio Muratori, perhaps the greatest Italian Catholic intellectual of the eighteenth century as well as a renowned antiquarian, also compared the missions to the early Christian communities in his *Il cristianesimo felice nel Paraguay* (1743).⁶⁹ In his *Histoire du Paraguay* (1757), Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix went further, not only relating the wonderful exploits of Jesuits in the New World but accusing seditious and impious people of Paraguay of attempting to discredit the innocent Jesuits in the eyes of Europeans.⁷⁰ All of these texts were used by Peramás in his *De administratione guaranica* – in the case of the *Histoire du Paraguay* most likely in its expanded Latin version by the last provincial of Paraguay before the suppression, Domingo Muriel (1718-1795).⁷¹

⁶⁷ Blaise Pascal's *Lettres provinciales* (1656-57) did a good deal to influence public opinion on the Jesuits.

⁶⁸ Girolamo Imbruglia, 'A Peculiar Idea of Empire: Missions and Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in Early Modern History,' in Bernier et al., eds., *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 2014), 41.

⁶⁹ Ludovico Muratori, *Il cristianesimo felice nelle missione de' Padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguay* [1743] in *Opere di Lodovico Antonio Muratori* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1964). See Imbruglia, *L'invezione del Paraguay*, 166-169.

⁷⁰ Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay*, 3 vols. (Paris: Chez Ganeau, Bauche et D'Houry: 1756).

⁷¹ Charlevoix, Domingo Muriel, trans., *Historia Paraguajensis Petri Francisci-Xaverii de Charlevoix, ex Gallico Latina cum animadversionibus et supplemento* (Venitiis: Apud Franciscum Sansonii, 1779). Peramás often referred to another of Muriel's works, *Rudimenta iuris naturae et*

Jesuit discourse on the missions also developed in response to criticism from within America. It seems that creole resentment to Jesuits in secular Paraguay dated to the early days of the seventeenth century. Jesuit chronicles such as Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista Espiritual* (1639) articulated the narrative that, in view of Spaniards' failure to subdue the indigenous population, the Crown granted Jesuits permission to exclude Spaniards from mission territory which they had obtained by 'spiritual conquest'.⁷² This did not sit well with creoles. Isolation was also a source of tension, for the missions of Paraguay were unique in the complete absence of Spanish Americans from the towns.⁷³

Creole-Jesuit relations came to a head in the uprisings led by Bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas in the 1640s and by the creole lawyer José de Antequera y Castro between 1721 and 1735. The latter, known as the *Revolt of the comuneros*, in the end required military intervention from the governor of Buenos Aires, Bruno Mauricio de Zavala, who led an army of mission Indians (provided by the Jesuits) to restore order. These conflicts are usually viewed in light of the competition over indigenous labour between the creoles of Asunción and the missions.⁷⁴ Rivalry turned to hostility when the missions started growing *yerba mate*, the region's only cash crop, and selling it through their network of Jesuit colleges.⁷⁵ During these turbulent years, the Jesuits were expelled from their college of Asunción in 1724 and again in 1732.⁷⁶

gentium 2 vols (Venetiis: Apud Josephum Rosa, 1791). Muriel was in Spain acting as procurator of the province with José de Robles at the time of the expulsion; *DHCJ* Vol. 3, 2770; *CJPP* 963/1367. His rendition of Charlevoix, which also contained Cardiel's *Relación de las misiones* and a refutation of Ibáñez de Echavarri, seems to have encountered problems in obtaining approval and was printed without a license from the Inquisition (Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina*, 570). The extant volume in the British Library may have suffered some censure, as it is an abridged version where all appended works have been removed.

⁷² Imbruglia, *L'invenzione del Paraguay*, 117. The archetype of Jesuit interpretations of the missions in Paraguay is Antonio Ruiz de Montoya *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus en las Prouincias del Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay, y Tape* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1639).

⁷³ See Brading, *The First America*, 172-176. The missions however paid tribute to the Crown at the normal rate and received inspection visits from the bishop of Asuncion.

⁷⁴ For an overview of the economic and political reasons for the *comuneros* revolt see James Schofield Saeger, 'Origins of the Rebellion of Paraguay' in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May, 1972): 215-229; Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 49-53.

⁷⁵ Brading, *The First America*, 174.

⁷⁶ ANA SH Vol. 114 No. 1; Vol. 109 No. 5.

The role of the College of Asunción, which acted independently of the missions, in shaping Jesuit-creole relations has only recently started to be addressed. The Argentine sociologist Ignacio Telesca explained that the reasons for these expulsions from Asunción have yet to be fully understood, but he suggests that the economic success of the college and competition with creoles over control of the local market played a part.⁷⁷ The Jesuit Sebastián de San Martín noted that by the 1750s the College of Asunción was the richest in the Province of Paraguay, and that it could afford to send 4000 annual *pesos* as alms to the College of Córdoba. This abundance, he mused, caused the creoles of Asunción to ‘love us like a stomach ache’: ‘*nos quieren como el dolor de tripas.*’⁷⁸

The ‘Jesuit Kingdom of Paraguay’

The consequences of the 1721-1735 upheavals in Asunción for the Jesuit image in Europe were twofold. On the one hand, Jesuits like Charlevoix were able to portray themselves as good servants of the Crown and the creoles as subversives. On the other hand, the enmity of the creoles as expressed in the letters of Cárdenas and Antequera y Castro found its way into the hands of European critics of the Jesuits, fuelling the image of a ‘Jesuit State in Paraguay’. Voltaire for instance explained that the Jesuits ruled the missions as kings: ‘In all appearances they are subject to the king, but they are effectively kings, and possibly the best obeyed kings on earth’.⁷⁹ Likewise, the article on Paraguay in the *Encyclopédie* (Vol. 11, 1765) commented that ‘in every parish there is a Jesuit whom everyone obeys, and who governs as a sovereign’.⁸⁰ Peramás would address these accusations in his *De administratione guaranica* (1793).

⁷⁷ Ignacio Telesca, ‘Más allá de las misiones: El Colegio Jesuítico de Asunción en el siglo XVIII’ in *Diálogos - Revista do Departamento de Historia e do Programa de Pós-Graduação em História*, Universidade Estadual de Maringá, Brasil 13 no. 2 (2009): 323-345.

⁷⁸ In Magnus Mörner, *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Hyspamérica, 1985), 127.

⁷⁹ Voltaire, *Ouvres complètes* (1859), 112: ‘*Soumis dans tout ce qui est d’apparence au roi d’Espagne, ils étaient rois en effet, et peut-être les rois mieux obéis de la terre.*’

⁸⁰ M. Diderot and M. D’Alembert eds. *Encyclopédie* Vol. 11 (1765), 900-902: ‘*Il y a dans chaque paroisse un jésuite auquel tout obéit, & qui gouverne souverainement.*’

The *philosophes* did not condemn every aspect of the Jesuit enterprise in Paraguay, but they mixed praise with profound criticism. Philosophers like D'Alembert and Montesquieu praised the Jesuits for civilising non-Europeans, though at the expense of their freedom.⁸¹ Voltaire, who would have been familiar with Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum*, shared this opinion in his *Essai sur les Moeurs et L'Esprit des Nations* (1756):

*Les jésuites se sont à la vérité servis de la religion pour ôter la liberté aux peuplades du Paraguay: mais ils ont policées; ils les ont rendues industrieuses, et sont venus à bout de gouverner un vaste pays, comme en Europe on gouverne un couvent.*⁸²

The Jesuits have in reality used religion to deprive the people of Paraguay of their freedom. They have civilised these people and rendered them industrious, and in the end have come to govern a vast country, as in Europe one governs a convent.

Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri was the first to present the negative image of the Jesuits in Paraguay as a comprehensive whole in *El Reyno Jesuitico Paraguayo, por siglo y medio negado y oculto, hoy demostrado y descubierto*. (1770), 'The Jesuit Kingdom of Paraguay, hidden and denied for a century and a half, now openly revealed'. Ibáñez de Echavarri accused the Jesuits of enslaving the Indians, of tax evasion, dissolute behaviour, allowing foreign individuals with no allegiance to Spain into Spanish territory, and adopting heretical views in their isolated sovereign state.⁸³ The supposed wealth of the Jesuits (derived from their temporal interests in America such as pearl fishing in California and sugar estates in Quito) made their case more desperate as it was seen to conflict with the Jesuit vow of poverty.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Montesquieu, *L'esprit des lois* (1979), 162: '*Le Paraguay peut nous fournir un autre exemple. On a voulu en faire un crime à la société qui regarde le plaisir de commander comme le seul bien de la vie: mais il sera toujours beau de gouverner les hommes, en les rendant plus heureux.*' [*'Paraguay furnishes another example, where one could make it a crime for the Society that regards the pleasure of command as the only good in life, but it will always govern men well and make them happier'*].

⁸² Voltaire, *Ouvres complètes* 8 (Paris : Edition de Ch. Lahure et Cie, 1859), 108.

⁸³ Ford Bacigalupo, 'Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri and the Image of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay': 475-494.

⁸⁴ Karen Stolley 'East of Eden', 50. Cf. Campomanes, *Pedro Rodriguez de Campomanes, Dictamen fiscal de expulsión de los jesuitas de España (1766-1767)*, Jorge Cejudo López and Teófaneg Egidio López, eds. (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977).

This negative image of the Jesuits also informed the reasoning of Bourbon officials for the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The four-volume compilation of documents relating to the expulsion includes creole testimonies by Cárdenas and Antequera as well as Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri's piece.⁸⁵ In this compilation of documents, Campomanes, following Voltaire, accused the Jesuits of promoting insurgency among Indians, of giving laws and disposing of the Indians' goods, and effectively creating their own kingdom in the missions. Peramás refuted these accusations directly in chapters 9, 21 and 22 of *De administratione guaranica*, although his target was not Campomanes but Ibáñez de Echavarri. What Peramás will dispute however is the *seditionary nature* of the Jesuit 'state' of Paraguay, not the existence of a state. As a result, his work presents the missions as a precedents of statehood in Spanish America.

Plato and the isolation of the Jesuit missions

Peramás argued that the isolation of the missions was positive and necessary to preserve integrity of customs, criticising the corrupting influence of sailors and port towns in general. Peramás stated that, in accordance with the advice of Plato *Laws* IV and V, 'the Guarani region is far from the sea, so that the customs of the indigenous are not able to be corrupted by sailors of different peoples.'⁸⁶ Of course, following Plato as well, Peramás conceded that complete isolation would not be beneficial. Instead, he called for a selective isolation. For instance, 'goods which the Guarani might require can be brought there without much difficulty; for the rivers Parana and Uruguay are navigable, by which Indians sail down to Buenos Aires, and buy what they need for themselves.'⁸⁷

Moreover, the area itself was quite self-sufficient, so that the need for obtaining resources from provincial cities was minimal: 'The region however is

⁸⁵ *Colección general de documentos, tocantes á la persecución que los regulares de la Compañía suscitaron y siguieron... desde 1644 hasta 1660 contra... Bernardino de Cardenas... obispo del Paraguay... Ván añadidos en esta edicion muchos documentos inédidos, y un prólogo que sirve de introducción...* (Madrid: Imprenta real de Gaceta, 1768-70).

⁸⁶ *De adm.*1.8 [2004, 31]: *Guaranica regio procul a mari distat, quo fit, ut a nautis variarum gentium corrupti non possint indigenarum mores.*

⁸⁷ *De adm.*1.8 [2004, 31]: *Merces tamen, quibus Guarani indigent, haud difficiliter illuc invehuntur; patientes enim navium sunt amnes Parana, & Uruguay, per quos Indi descendunt Bonasauras, sibi que necessaria emunt.* Cf. Liv. 21.31.10: 'amnis navium patiens', i.e. navigable.

full of woods, and thus divided partly into hills, partly into fields, so that it produces nearly everything suitable for eating.’⁸⁸ Thus, already in the first chapter, isolation, a reliance on rivers and self-sufficiency emerge as defining features of the Paraguayan missions, setting them apart from other regions of Spanish America.

On the other hand, the isolation of the missions backfired because it fueled the idea that the Jesuits ruled the missions as *de facto* kings who maintained their exploitation of the Indians secret.⁸⁹ Magnus Mörner has suggested that isolation was completely in conformity with Spanish colonial laws and that creole resentment stemmed not from the isolation policy itself but from the successful commerce in six missions where Jesuits allowed exceptions to the rule.⁹⁰ In any case resentment stemmed from the fact that the Jesuits possessed economic power independent from Spanish American colonial centres.

Peramás, like other Jesuits, could only repeat that the missionaries did not live like kings but instead lived in poverty. He could also provide correct data for misinformed Europeans. He added a lengthy footnote in Chapter 18 (On commerce) detailing the income produced by selling *yerba mate* and explaining how high shipping costs meant that the income hardly covered basic expenses for the Indians as well as for the (creole) citizens of Paraguay, *Paraguaycorum civium*. This footnote contained seven points, and constituted a biting critique of the philosopher De Pauw, who had claimed that the Jesuits exploited 300,000 Indians along with a few black slaves to further the yerba mate industry: ‘in this [De Pauw] is certainly correct, because where there are [no black slaves] there certainly cannot be many’. He added that ‘there was not one black (African) in the

⁸⁸ Ibid: *Regio autem silvosa est, atque ita distincta partim collibus, partim campis, ut poene (sic) omnia ad victum apta gignat*. With ‘silvosus’ Peramás seemed to allude to Livy (Liv. 9.2.7) as well as Pliny the Elder (Plin. HN 12.5.11. §23). Within the region though, the missions help each other, or example, if crops should fail (chapter 18 on commerce). So they cannot be said to be each entirely self-sufficient.

⁸⁹ The idea of a rich Paraguay and tyrannical Spanish Jesuits circulated also in England. The privateer and later governor of the Bahamas Woodes Rogers (1679-1732) denounced the ‘despotism’ of the Jesuits and their supposed alliance with France to plan to create a ‘universal monarchy’ in South America. See Imbruglia, *L’invenzione del Paraguay*, 161.

⁹⁰ Magnus Mörner, ‘The Guaraní Missions and the Segregation Policy of the Spanish Crown’ in J.S. Cummins, *Christianity and Missions 1450-1800* Variorum Expanding World Series Vol. 28 (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1997): 197-216.

Guarani missions': *in oppidis Guaranicis ne unus quidem erat Aetiops*.⁹¹ Peramás clarified that the total population of the missions had never amounted to more than 150,000 even in its most prosperous days, and the census of 1767 counted 88,864 individuals. De Pauw's claim that the Jesuits became rich through the commerce of yerba was not only misinformed; it was a malicious lie.⁹²

Isolation could thus result in misinformation and myth-making about the missions. Most of the sources about the economic situation of the missions were produced by Jesuits themselves. However, orders from Spain and the *Audiencia de Charcas* between 1764 and 1766 to the governor of Paraguay, asking for reports on the riches of the missions, suggest that the Crown increasingly desired objective, non-Jesuit information.⁹³ Governor Carlos Morphy, the same who enforced the expulsion decree in 1767, a year before reported that no such riches existed.⁹⁴ Yet the myth of Jesuit riches was so strong that even in 1770 people were still searching for gold in the former Jesuit property in Paraguairí, which had been the summer residence and cattle ranch (*estancia*) of the College of Asunción.⁹⁵

More importantly, Peramás argued that isolation was validated by the Laws of the Indies. The monumental *Recopilación Leyes de los Reynos de Indias* (1680) had indeed propounded the segregation of Indians and Spaniards into two republics. Similarly, the need to separate Indians and Europeans for the success of the evangelical endeavour was present in the thought of the founders of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. The missions of Paraguay described by Peramás were the last bastion of the model of two republics which, in its attempt to remain pure, required the isolation of the missions and the exclusion of Spaniards, blacks and *mestizos*.⁹⁶ Peramás thus seems to have remained committed to the idea of two republics throughout his life; while the *Laudationes Quinque* had protested

⁹¹ *De adm.* 18.note VII [2004, 129]. There was no reason for Peramás to mention the presence of black slaves technically outside the Guarani missions, but it is true that Jesuits were prominent slave owners in Paraguay and Tucumán. For instance, in the 1750s they possessed around 500 slaves who worked on the ranches that supported the college of Asunción. Cf. Chapter 3, note 24.

⁹² *De adm.* 18.ff. I-VII. [2004, 126-130].

⁹³ ANA SH Vol. 58 No. 10: Reales Cédulas y provisiones e informes del Gobernador (1764-1768).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ ANA SH Vol. 136 No. 3: Expediente sobre la búsqueda de oro en la zona de Paraguairí, en tierras antiguamente pertenecientes a los jesuitas (1770).

⁹⁶ Morales, '¿Guaraníes? No, aqueos', 214-218. See also Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador* 177-181.

against the dangers of Spanish students mingling with ‘people of the worst sort’, the *De administratione guaranica* called for the isolation of the Indians to prevent corruption from Spaniards.

It would be unrealistic for Peramás to present the segregation of Indians and Spaniards (including creoles) as a complete reality. He recorded a few instances of interaction among creoles and Indians in *De administratione guaranica*, claiming that Spaniards were by no means forbidden access to the missions. For instance, he explained in Chapter 19 that visitors such as merchants, clerics and military commanders could access the missions, although never permanently. It thus seems that the Jesuits indeed applied the isolation policy arbitrarily and according to what they considered best for the missions, as Mörner suggested. For Jesuit critics, this selective isolation was despotic; for Peramás it was legal and validated by the wisdom of Plato.

Adapting Cicero and the invention of a ‘Guarani people’⁹⁷

In Chapter 4 Peramás proposed three ingredients for a successful society: one people, one language, and Christian religion. Based on Cicero, Peramás claimed that:

Amicitia autem inter Guaranios post suscepta christiana sacra tam erat solida & constans, ut solidior & constantior esse nusquam possit: nam *societate gentis, & linguae* (adde religionis) *quam maxime homines conjunguntur*, ait praeclare Tullius. (sic).

Friendship among the Guarani after they received the Christian religion was so firm and constant, that it could not be firmer or more constant: for *in society people and language* (to which is added religion) *bind men the most*, as the illustrious Cicero said.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The reception of Cicero and Plato by Peramás is discussed in more detail, respectively, in two forthcoming articles: Desiree Arbo, ‘The Concept of a Guarani ‘Nation’ in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay: José Manuel Peramás’ *De administratione Guaranica comparate ad rempublicam Platonis commentarius* (1793),’ in *Nationhood: From Antiquity to Modernity*, A.G. Peck, ed. Pickering and Chatto; Desiree Arbo ‘Guaraní Indians and Plato’s *Republic*’ in *Classical Traditions in Latin American History*, Andrew Laird and Nicola Miller, eds. Wiley-Blackwell Bulletin of Latin American Research Monographs.

⁹⁸ *De adm.* 4.15 [2004, 38].

Peramás added *religio* to Cicero's *gens* and *lingua*, but it is also noteworthy that he left out *natio* from the original Ciceronian passage, which is one of the most disputed passages in *De Officiis*.⁹⁹ In fact, one could argue he substituted *natio* for *religio*, thus emphasising the Christian identity of the Guarani Indians. Cicero had described four degrees of social relationships, going from broad to narrow a) human race; b) *gens*, *natio*, *lingua*; c) fellow citizens; d) relatives:

*Gradus autem plures sunt societatis hominum. Ut enim ab illa infinita discedatur, propior est eiusdem gentis, nationis, linguae, qua maxime homines coniunguntur; interius etiam est eiusdem esse civitatis; multa enim sunt civibus inter se communia, forum, fana, porticus, viae, leges, iura, iudicia, suffragia, consuetudines praeterea et familiaritates multisque cum multis res rationesque contractae.*¹⁰⁰

There are many degrees [of social relationships] in societies of men. To proceed beyond the common bond [of humanity] there is a closer one of belonging to the same people, nation and tongue, which bind men greatly. There is also a closer bond, to be of the same state; for citizens have much in common: the forum, temples, colonnades, roads, laws, oaths, courts, rights, and also acquaintances and relatives with whom to do business and socialise.

For the most part Peramás defined the Guarani Indians by their language. The Guarani language, we are told, was spoken 'from the Brazilian Ocean all the way to the Marañon River, and even beyond... [over] an extension of lands...much greater than once the Greek or Latin language held.' Guarani was also equal to ancient languages in terms of complexity: 'to these Guarani is in nothing inferior regarding craft and elegance'.¹⁰¹ Indeed, in a footnote Peramás marvelled at the divine gift of speech among the barbarian and 'forest-dwelling' people of America (*barbari...silvestres*), in contrast to irreligious philosophers who considered

⁹⁹ Andrew Roy Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero De Officiis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 165.

¹⁰⁰ Cic. *Off.* 1.53 [17] Emphases are my own

¹⁰¹ *De adm.* 4.15 [2004, 37]: *viget . . . ab Oceano Brasilico ad amnim usque Maranonium, atque hunc etiam ultra . . . Qui terrarum tractus multo est amplior, quam obtinuit olim lingua vel Graeca vel Latina, quibus Guaranica nihil cedit artificio & elegantia.* Peramás describes Guarani as a complex language and cites several sources (Domingo Bandiera, Claudio Duret, Lorenzo Hervás) to illustrate this point. Peramás refers to his own biography of Ignacio Chomé for more on languages in Paraguay and Chiquitos (*De vita et moribus* tredecim: 221-262) as well as to Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro's essay on Amerindian languages in volume 21 of *Idea dell' universo che contiene la storia della vita dell'uomo, elementi cosmografici, viaggio estatico al mondo planetario e storia della terra* (Cesena: Gregorio Biasini, 1787).

language a human invention. In spite of being barbarians, according to Peramás, the Guarani had developed a complex language, which showed that the Indians were intellectually capable.¹⁰² What Peramás left unexplained was that a unified Guarani language was the result of Jesuit missionary activity. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's influential missionary grammar and lexicon *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua guaraní* (1640) standardised the Guarani language from a multiplicity of dialects.¹⁰³

In addition, the Guarani may not have thought of themselves as one people or *gens*, but Jesuit accounts portrayed them as such.¹⁰⁴ *Gens* in classical literature denoted common stock or origin and could be used interchangeably with *populus* or *natio*.¹⁰⁵ Peramás was more specific. There is one instance in *De administratione guaranica* where Peramás acknowledged the presence of different tribes, which he referred to with the term *natio*.¹⁰⁶ In Chapter 19 Peramás explained that whenever a new governor arrived at Buenos Aires, each Guarani mission sent a *cacique* to present their loyalty in the name of their entire 'nation': *totius natione nomine*.¹⁰⁷ This is in accordance with the language of Acosta and the idea of diverse Amerindian nations. In his *De procuranda indorum salute* (1588), known to Peramás already in his early period, Acosta had proposed an

¹⁰² *De adm.* 4. ff. 2 [2004, 37]. *Artificium* and *elegantiae* are properties frequently attributed to Amerindian languages in sixteenth and seventeenth century texts. For example, on Nahuatl see the prologue of Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* (Mexico: A. Spinosa, 1571): '*es tan copiosa, tan elegante, y de tanto artificio y primor en sus metaphoras y maneras de dezir.*' Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás emphasised the structure and complexity of Quechua to show that it was not a barbarian language, in the sense meant by Quintilian as lacking declinations; *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Córdova, 1560), fol. 5r: '*El estar ordenada y adornada con propiedad de declinacion, y demas propiedades ... tan conforme ala latina, y española: y en el arte y artificio della, que no paresce sino q fue vn pronostico, q Españoles la auia de poseer. Lengua pues... tan polida y abundante, regulada y encerrada debaxo de las reglas y preceptos dela latina como es esta (como consta por este Arte) no barbara...*'

¹⁰³ Robert Andrew Nickson, 'Governance and the Revitalization of the Guarani Language in Paraguay' in *Latin American Research Review* 44 no. 3 (2009), 5.

¹⁰⁴ On the disparity between Jesuit accounts of the missions and voices of indigenous culture, see Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁵ Charlton T. Lewis and. Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford. Clarendon Press: 1880): "'Natio" in a more restricted sense, a race of people, nation, people (used commonly in a more limited sense than gens, and sometimes as identical with it.'

¹⁰⁶ Peramás only used the term *tribus* to describe Indians in the first ages of humanity, when they lacked even the rudiments of governance; *De adm.* 17.144 [2004, 115]; 17.151 [2004, 117]; 17.156 [2004, 119].

¹⁰⁷ *De adm.* 19.193 [2004, 139].

evolutionary scheme for Indian nations based on their different appearances and customs.¹⁰⁸ Reworking Cicero, Peramás now portrayed the Guarani as one *gens*: one social and linguistic group composed of virtuous barbarians, blurring tribal distinctions.

In most cases however Peramás used *natio* for European examples. That is, Peramás mostly referred to the Guarani as one *gens* or *populus* and reserved *natio* for European nations, revealing an Enlightenment preoccupation with national diversity in Europe.¹⁰⁹ Dictionaries of the period also defined ‘nation’ in terms of European examples. The 1734 *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* defined a *nación* as ‘a group of people in a province, country or kingdom.’¹¹⁰ An expanded definition appeared in another dictionary in 1783, adding the element of a centralised government: ‘nation, a collective name for a large people, state etc., subject to one prince or government.’¹¹¹ The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762) explained that ‘every nation has its own customs and manners... [such as] the French nation, the Spanish Nation . . . [each] with the mood, the spirit, the distinctive character of a nation.’¹¹² Peramás’ nomenclature in the *De administratione guaranica* is therefore precise: *natio* as a rule is applied to diverse European nations, *tribus* to primitive pre-conquest societies and *gens* to the Guarani as a distant and barbarian people with a unified language and religion.¹¹³ The implied story in *De administratione guaranica* is that the Guarani of the missions are only a *gens* because the Jesuits gave them one religion, one language

¹⁰⁸ Archive documents display a similar use of the Spanish word *nación*; ANA SH Vol. 120 no. 120: ‘Solicitud de información del Gobernador del Paraguay sobre las invaciones de distintas naciones de indios a la Provincia’ (1741).

¹⁰⁹ Nicholas Hudson, ‘From “Nation” to “Race”, The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought’ in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 no. 3 (1996): 250-251.

¹¹⁰ Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1734), 644: ‘Nación: la colección de habitantes en alguna Provincia, País o Reino.’

¹¹¹ Esteban Terrenos y Pando, ed. *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes [...]*, Madrid (1783), 645: ‘nación, nombre colectivo que significa algun Pueblo grande, Reino, estado, &c. sujeto á un mismo Príncipe, ó Gobierno.’

¹¹² Académie française, *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* Vol. 2 (1762), 197: ‘NATION: Tous les habitants d'un même État, d'un même pays, qui vivent sous les mêmes lois, parlent le même langage, &c. Nation puissante. Nation belliqueuse, guerrière. Nation civilisée. . . Chaque nation a ses coutumes, ses mœurs. . . La nation Française. La nation Espagnole. . . L'humeur, l'esprit, le génie d'une nation.’

¹¹³ The use of *gens* for distant and barbarian nations has classical precedents, most importantly for our purposes in Tacitus on the several nations of Germania. Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 38; Caes. *B Gall.* 3.7, Cic. *Phil.* 10.10.20; Cic. *Prov. cons.* 5.10.

and one people – all the ingredients for a happy, ideal society.¹¹⁴ The thirteen biographies that followed the treatise demonstrated how Jesuits had helped transform the Guarani into a Christian *gens*.

The communal system of the missions: Tacitus and Vanière

Two sources were particularly influential in Peramás' depiction of the Guarani: Tacitus *Germania* and Book 14 'On bees' of the eighteenth-century didactic poem *Praedium Rusticum* by Jacques Vanière.¹¹⁵ Communal property featured in both Tacitus and Vanière, as of course, in Plato. In spite of Plato's error in the *Republic* about holding wives in common, Peramás approved of communal society as described in the *Laws*.¹¹⁶ The Guarani communal system however included the possession of both private and public property:

Inter Guaranios quaedam erant communia, quaedam non item. Singulis attribuebatur certus agri modus, satis ille quidem amplius, ubi patresfamilias sibi suisque sererent frumentum Indicum . . . & varii generis legumina, edulesque radices, quarum alias vocant Mandiò, alias Mandubì (sic) . . . terrestres item batatas, idest, tubera quaedam succosae medullae . . . Colebant praeterea gossipium, & quas quisque optarat fruges indigenas. Haec omnia colonorum propria erant, dicebanturque Abambae, privata nimirum Indi uniusque res.

Among the Indians certain things were held in common, others were not. A certain measure of land was allotted to each, which was indeed large enough, where the head of households and his own cultivated the Indian grain [maiz] . . . and leguminous plants of various kinds, and edible roots, one which they call *Mandi'o* or *Manduví* . . . and also the terrestrial *batatas*, that is, tuberous roots with a juicy marrow . . . They moreover cultivated cotton, and any indigenous crops which they chose. All of these

¹¹⁴ See Bartomeu Melià, *La création d'un langage chrétien dans les réductions des guarani au Paraguay* (University of Strasbourg : 1969). This PhD thesis was published in a Spanish version in 2003.

¹¹⁵ References to *Praedium Rusticum* are taken from the 1746 Bordalet (Paris) edition.

¹¹⁶ Peramás disagreed with the opinion of the Renaissance Platonist scholar Marcilio Ficino regarding the sharing of wives. He claimed that Ficino had tried to gloss over the evil of polygamy. The truth is, says Peramás, Plato was a man who had erred. Peramás considered for a moment whether Plato may have had in mind only the best citizens and the guardians of the laws and not meant promiscuous sharing of wives among all. However, he concluded that there was no way to interpret Plato other than literally, and that Plato had failed to see the consequences of a complete communion of goods, just as the *philosophes* failed to see how their distortion of natural law could result in disorder and perdition; *De adm.* 9. 54 [2004, 54].

were held by cultivators, called the *Avamba'e*, that is, the private thing of each Indian.¹¹⁷

We are told that the Indians moved their private fields once the soil had lost its productivity. Here Peramás drew the first explicit comparison with Tacitus' Germans. He noted how in ancient Germania lands were *pro numero cultorum ab universis . . . mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur*: 'tilled by all the cultivators [and] then distributed among themselves according to rank'.¹¹⁸ The Germans moved to other fields every year, but did not need to work very hard due to the fertility of the land. Similarly, the Guarani *caciques* (called *dynastes*) and their dependents (*clientes*) were assigned new private fields: *Ager privatus non erat idem semper, sed cum prior jam lassus vim amiserat, alius eligebatur, assignata singulis dynastis, eorumque clientibus portione sua*, 'the private field was not always the same, but when the first one, exhausted, had lost its fertility, another was chosen, portions having been assigned to each *cacique* and their dependents.'¹¹⁹ This deft use of the passive participle *assignata* avoids having to explain who distributed the lands, implying with the comparison to the Germans that the Guarani themselves did it, although in reality the Jesuit missionaries might have played a part.

The positive view of the missions was strengthened by references to the eighteenth-century poet Jacques Vanière, acknowledged as one of Peramás' sources in the introduction. Vanière had included a digression on the Paraguayan missions in Book XIV 'On Bees' of his *Praedium Rusticum* or 'Country Estates' (1740). A veritable bestseller, this work underwent as many as thirty editions and translations into several European vernaculars.¹²⁰ Several features of the nature of bees in Vanière were echoed in Peramás' description of the Guarani: highly organised towns, common lands, division of labour, and citizens as farmer-soldiers. Nevertheless, the *locus classicus* for bees as the idealised cooperative community was Book 4 of Vergil's *Georgics*, which Vanière set out to correct in

¹¹⁷ *De adm.* 8.45 [2004, 57]. I have changed Guarani words to be consistent with modern spelling.

¹¹⁸ Tac. *Germ.* 26.

¹¹⁹ *De adm.* 8.46 [2004, 57].

¹²⁰ Yasmin Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 38.

light of recent scientific discoveries about bees. Bees in the *Georgics* had already been given anthropomorphic characteristics:

*Solae communes natos, consortia tecta
urbis habent magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum,
et patriam solae et certos novere penates,
venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem
experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt.*¹²¹

They alone have children in common, and own the roofs of the city together. They spend their life under mighty laws. They alone have come to know a *patria* and a settled home. In the summer, mindful of the winter to come, they work and store in a central space what they have procured.

Virgil's description of the communal regime of the bee-hive was appropriated by Peramás through Vanière. Peramás nuanced Virgil's description of common property in the hive with his explanation that the Guarani had both private and common lands:

*Quapropter hac agri communis, privatique vice dices **gentem Guaranicam esse similem apibus**, quibus suum cuique mel est, & tectum, & victus, sed postquam communem finxerunt favum, & communiter ruri domique laborarunt.*

With this interchange of common and private land, you might say that the **Guarani people are similar to the bees** who have their own honey, and roof, and food, but after they have formed the common honeycomb, and laboured together in the field and at home.¹²²

Vanière had indeed extolled communal living without mentioning private property, yet the similarities between the two texts regarding the communal system are striking. The French poet praised communal life in Paraguay: *in commune ferentes omnia . . . fruges horrea convectant in publica*, 'they seek everything in common... they store produce in storehouses'.¹²³ Similarly, in *De administratione* the Guarani have common lands as well as their private plot:

[I]lla privata praedia erant alii agri communes minimum duo, alter, ubi frumentum cum legumine, alter, ubi gossipium colebatur: horum agrorum

¹²¹ Verg.G.153-157.

¹²² *De adm.* 8.50 [2004, 60]. Emphases are my own.

¹²³ Vanière 14 [1746, 269].

proventus, qui in horrea condebatur, erat publicus pro victu, & veste pupillorum, debiliumque, & puerorum, & puellarum, & viduarum.

Besides the private lands there were a minimum of two other common fields, one where *maize* and beans were grown, and in the other, cotton: the produce of these fields, which was stored in barns, was for the public consumption, and for the clothes of pupils, the weak, boys, girls and widows.¹²⁴

Everyone worked in these common fields, including the authorities. All the citizens of the Guarani missions were farmers, like the bees. Such a system, Peramás concluded, would have earned the approbation of the ancient Romans as well as Thomas More:

Binis agris communibus ad certos anni dies oppidani publice operam dabant; omnes enim, etiam Praetor, & magistratus, Romanorum veterum more, rei rusticae studebant, id quod certe probasset magnus ille vir Thomas Morus, qui agricolas esse voluit, quotquot in suam illam Rempubicam UTOPIAM convenirent.

During certain days of the year the town-dwellers publicly laboured in the two fields; for all, even the Praetor¹²⁵ and magistrate, as was the custom of the Romans of old, used to busy themselves with rustic things, which that great man Thomas More would certainly have approved, who desired all who gather in his Republic of Utopia to be farmers.¹²⁶

The utopian communal system of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay was not entirely unique in conception. The sixteenth century experiments of Vasco de Quiroga in Michoacán (Mexico) and Bartolomé de las Casas in Verapaz (Guatemala) were inspired by Renaissance utopias such as Thomas More's *Utopia*. Similarly, comparisons with the natural world were not exclusive to Vanière and bees. Rafael Landívar in Book 6 of his *Rusticatio Mexicana* celebrated the communal life of beavers in North America, perhaps indirectly proposing an ideal

¹²⁴ *De adm.* 8.47 [2004, 57].

¹²⁵ I have kept Latin terms for the Guarani authorities, which will be discussed below. At this point one can observe that the use of Latin terms intensifies the parallel between the Romans and the Guarani.

¹²⁶ *De adm.* 8.48 [2004, 58]. Peramás cited precedents for a similar kind of communal regime among the ancient Hebrews in Exodus, also referring to Domingo Muriel's *De Rudimenta Juris Naturalis et Gentium* (1791).

community based on observation of American natural life.¹²⁷ The difference of utopian literature in general and these American examples with *De administraione guaranica* is that Peramás wrote about a utopia that became a successful reality for over one hundred and fifty years.¹²⁸

Vanière and Division of labour

At the same time as he praised communal life in the missions, Peramás insisted on division of labour and preferential treatment of the Indian elites. The Jesuit principles of hierarchy, authority and healthy competitiveness are thus reflected in the description of the missions. For insistence, in Chapter 8 Peramás seemed to echo Vanière:

Jam vero Indorum alii, in id ipsum designate, armentum bovilli generis, quod singulis oppidis valde copiosum erat, tuebantur, alii equos publicos curabat, alii pascebat oves, alii muniis praeficiebantur.

Some Indians, specially designated for this, watched the abundant herds of cattle, others cared for the public horses, others watched the sheep, and still others performed various tasks.¹²⁹

In like manner, Vanière had reported different occupations among the Guarani:

*... terram pars scindit aratro;
pars niveos secunda greges ad pascua ducit:
pars frumenta terit saxis, aut excoquit igne;
atque alii falces, alii fabrilia tractant
arma.*

Some till the earth with ploughs, others lead snow-white flocks to pasture. Some grind grain with stone or boil it with fire, and some fashion sickles, tools or weapons.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Arnold L. Kerson, 'El Concepto de Utopía de Rafael Landívar en la *Rusticatio Mexicana*' in *Revista Iberoamericana* 12 no. 96-97 (1976): 371-372. On similar utopian projects in sixteenth-century Michoacán see Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y utopía, el gobierno indio y español de la "ciudad de Mechuacan", 1521-1580* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2005).

¹²⁸ See Stelio Cro, 'Empirical and Practical Utopia in Paraguay', *Dieciocho* 15 (1992): 171-184; Stelio Cro, 'Guaranica: De administratione guaranica comparata ad rempublicam Platonis commentarius', *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies* 17 no. 48-49 (Symposium Press: Hamilton, 1994).

¹²⁹ *De adm.* 8.49 [2004, 59].

¹³⁰ Vanière 14 [1746, 269].

Like Vanière, Peramás also endorsed healthy competitiveness, explaining that

Quibus rebus fiebat, ut familiae omnes poene pares forent, & pari censu nisi quis forte agrum suum diligentius coleret, ac plura ex eo efferret; verum id & modicam inaequalitatem inducebat, & stimulo erat, aliunde, ut plenior ager vicini vicinum excitaret, ne se se otio desidiaeque traderet.

These things were done so that all families might be almost equal, and with equal property unless perhaps one might till his land more and bring forth more from it . . . indeed this used to lead to a small inequality, so that a richer crop of one neighbour might stimulate another so that he would not give himself up to indolence.¹³¹

The Guarani in Vanière's poem displayed similar competitiveness: *alii nec pectora torquent invidiae stimuli quam quos movet aemula virtus* ('no other spurs of envy wring their hearts than those which the virtue of competition inspires').¹³² In case any European readers might interpret his text as a call for installing platonic regimes in Europe, Peramás argued in his concluding chapter that the platonic communal regime had never been possible or desirable except in certain societies at a specific time and place: the ancient Germans during the Roman Empire, the early Christians, and the Guarani at their conversion. The Guarani Republic was governed according to Christian principles - not the wild philosophy of Reason which was bringing France to ruin. Peramás warned that such a system could have only existed among the Guarani. European nations, he commented in an echo of the *Laudationes Quinque*, were too advanced and should retain their traditions and societies.¹³³

Education for the Good of the Republic and Indian authorities

Classical learning was not only a tool that Peramás relied on to articulate his vision of mission governance. It also served a functional role in the daily life of the missions. Authorities were drawn from a pool of elite Guarani. The *Caciques*

¹³¹ *De adm.* 8.49 [2004, 59].

¹³² Vanière 14 [1746, 269].

¹³³ *De adm.* 29.338-340 [2004, 212-213]. Cf. Nicolás Perrone, 'Algunas aproximaciones a la construcción literaria de enemigos en la historiografía jesuítica iberoamericana. Cambios y permanencias entre los siglos XVIII y XX,' in *AHSI* 84 no. 165 (2014): 117-118.

and their families received preferential treatment in the assignment of land as well as access to education, which seems to have included basic instruction in Latin:

*Legere, & scribere, cum calculorum ratione non omnes pueri docebatur, sed tot dumtaxat, quot oppidi bonum poscebat, ut ex eo dein numero eligerentur Praetor, & senatores, & magistratus, & scribae, & procuratores publici, & aeditui, & medici. Erant autem elementarii pueri isti e familiis praecipue Caciquiorum, primorumque Indorum, quibus is honor prae ceteris habebatur. Legebant autem optime seu Guaranice, seu Hispane, seu Latine, eorumque multi scribebant elegantissime, ut nihil cederent vel pulcherrimis typographorum formis.*¹³⁴

Not all of the boys were taught to read and write, with reckoning of calculations, but as many as the good of the town demanded, so that then from their number were elected the Praetor, and senators, magistrates, scribes and public procurators, sacristans and doctors. These same elementary boys were especially from the families of the Caciques, the first among the Indians, who were held in honour before the rest. They read well in Guarani, Spanish, or Latin, and many of them wrote very elegantly, so that in nothing they fell short of the most beautiful forms of print.

In Chapter 21, the Guarani appear as active citizens of their republic, deliberating and choosing their own magistrates, while the Jesuits appeared in the role of counsellors or protectors:

Modus eligendi magistratus erat is. Sub extremum mensem Decembrem, qui eo anno publicis muneribus functi fuerant, deliberabant inter se, qui in proximum annum designandi essent ad oppidi administrationem. Visos prae aliis dignos referebant in album. Nullae ad haec prensanda munia (ut assolet) coitiones, nulli motus, nullus ambitus. Scriptum indicem ad Curionem deferebant. Curio siquem sibi probe cognitum, nec merentem, designatum reppererat, monebat, ut alium substituerent; idque secundum leges Indicas, quae jubent Parochos interesse Indorum electionibus, ut fiant ordine.

The mode of electing magistrates was this: At the end of the month of December, those who had been engaged in public posts deliberated among themselves about those who would be designated to the administration of the town in the following year. They reported those who were worthy before others onto a white tablet (register). There were no grasping plots for posts (as usually happens), no commotion, and no bribery. They carried the written list to the Priest. He advised them if he had learnt that someone designated did not deserve it so that they might substitute him for

¹³⁴ *De adm.*10.73 [2004, 77].

another; and this is according to the Laws of the Indies, which order parish priests to be present at Indian elections so that they might take place properly.¹³⁵

As in the *Laudationes*, the education of elites was intended to produce local leaders. In fact, the Indian republic mirrored that of Spanish American creoles. Peramás' description of the kinds of office-holders among the Guarani listed the Latin terms with the Spanish equivalents in brackets. As a result, Peramás presented the Guarani body-politic as an heir of the Romans, at the same time placing the missions firmly within the Spanish Empire:

Magistratus Guaraniarum tot erant, quot esse jubet in oppidis Indorum, & urbibus Hispanis lex Indica. Omnium primi Praetor, ejusque Vicarius (Teniente de Corregidor). Urbani consules (Alcaldes) duo, tertius (Alcalde de la hermandad) ad rem ruris. Senatores (Regidores) quattuor. Praefectus apparitorum (Alguacil mayor). Procurator publicus, & scriba (b). Praeter hos erat Signifer Regius (Alferez Real) qui agmine militum stipatus Regis vexillum in maxima oppidi celebritate (cum Divo Praesidi recurrerat sacer dies) inter tympanorum strepitus.

The magistrates of the Guarani were as many as the Laws of the Indies ordered to be in the Indian towns and Spanish cities. First of all there is a Praetor [*Corregidor*], and his Deputy (*Teniente de Corregidor*). There were two urban consuls (*Alcaldes*), and a third (*Alcalde de la hermandad*) for rural things. There were four senators (*Regidores*), a prefect of public servants (*Alguacil mayor*), a public procurator and a secretary. Besides these there was the Standard-Bearer of the King (*Alferez Real*), who accompanied by a train of soldiers carried the banner of the King on the greatest celebrations of the town (when the feast day of patron saint came by), among the noise of tympani.¹³⁶

In a footnote Peramás explained how the Jesuits devised names in Guarani for these posts at an early stage. Referring to the 1640 Guarani grammar by Antonio Ruiz de Montoya for further corroboration, Peramás provided the Guarani equivalents of the Latin and Spanish terms. For example, the Praetor or *Corregidor* was called *Poroquaitara* ('the one who orders what must be done'), the senators were the *Cabildoyguara* ('those belonging to the cabildo'), the *Alguacil Mayor* was the *Yvyrarusu* ('the first among those carrying a cane', a kind of police officer), and the *Alferez Real* was called the *Aoveve rerekuara* ('he who

¹³⁵ *De adm.* 21.17 [2004, 151-152].

¹³⁶ *De adm.* 21.216 [2004, 151]. Cf. Chapter 1, note 65.

Rusticum, Peramás chose to downplay the Jesuits role in ‘setting up this auspicious social experiment and . . . the ways in which [Jesuits] were implicated in its results.’¹³⁹ His description of the Guarani as active citizens of their own republics thus served to diminish the role of the Jesuits. At the same time however, in *spiritual matters* Indians still required the gentle guidance of Jesuit priests. For instance, in Chapter 8 Jesuits appeared under the intriguing term of *cultores*, that is, as carers or protectors of the Indians. The Guarani needed their help to be saved and were effectively portrayed as children:

Etenim ceu puerulus nec ali potest, nec vivere sine nutricis lacte, sic Indi, sicut modo geniti in Christo infants, ut crescent in salutem, paratis a cultore suo egent cibis.

As the child is not able to live or be sustained without nourishing milk, likewise the Indians, children just born in Christ, need food prepared by their carers so that they may grow unto salvation.¹⁴⁰

Similarly, comparing the Indians with bees meant that Jesuits, according to Peramás, were mostly bee-keepers. Metaphors of priests as cultivators of souls, tillers of the earth, had been common in the early Church. Furthermore, in classical literature *cultor* could refer to a bee-keeper or apiarist, as was mentioned by Columella, a first-century author from Roman Hispania in his work on agriculture, *De Re Rustica*.¹⁴¹ In the *Georgics* Virgil gave apiarists advice on the location and maintenance of hives, while still portraying the bees as managing their hive. In other words, the Guarani as portrayed in *De administatione guaranica* were capable of governing themselves in most things, but under the benign vision of the Jesuits.

This vision of the Indians as obedient and peaceful citizens contradicted the events of 1754-56, when armies of Guarani Indians confronted combined Spanish and Portuguese forces after refusing to submit to the Treaty of Madrid

¹³⁹ Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 49.

¹⁴⁰ *De adm.* 8.52 [2004, 61-62]. My emphasis.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Columella, *Rust.* 9.3.1: *alveorum cultoribus*; *De adm.* 9.62 [2004, 69]: ‘*Ibanus ipse Guaranicos cultores tamquam stultos planeque rudes*’: ‘Ibañez himself [railed] against the Guarani carers as stupid and completely unpolished’).

(1750).¹⁴² Letters by Guarani caciques bear witness to the belief that the Spanish king would redress their grievances and protect them from their enemies the Portuguese.¹⁴³ When their requests went unheard, the Guarani took up arms against the advice of the Jesuits. Peramás' apologetic agenda moved him to defend the innocence of the Guarani and especially their Jesuit guardians by presenting the Indians as peace-loving folk who were only stirred to fight when ordered by the King or if, like the bees, their republics were threatened.

No professional soldiers existed in the missions. Like the ancient Romans, ordinary citizens could alternate between farming and war if necessary:

*Milites hi nihil ab aliis Indis vel domicilio, vel veste differebant, neque militiae nomine quicquam e re communi accipiebant, ibantque **ab armis ad aratrum**, ab aratro vicissim ad arma.*¹⁴⁴

Soldiers were in no respect different from other Indians, either in dwelling or dress, and they did not use to receive from the community in military title, and they went from arms to the plough, and again from the plough to arms.

Textual echoes from Columella and Seneca further emphasised the parallels between Guarani Indians and Republican Romans. Cincinnatus (519 BC – 430 BC) was summoned from the plough to be dictator in an emergency, but resigned once his task was completed: *ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit* ('he came to dictatorship called from the plough').¹⁴⁵ As Vanière affirmed:

*Nobile continuo juvenum coit agmen ad arma;
et totis acies veluti Cadmeia terris¹⁴⁶
exitit: egregias miratur Iberia turmas...
compositis redeunt armis ad aratra.*¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² The authoritative study on the Indian defense of their lands is still Wilhelm Kratz, *El tratado hispano-portugues de límites de 1750 y sus consecuencias: estudio sobre la abolición de la Compania de Jesús* (Roma: I Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1954). See also Jorge Couto, 'Os conflitos com as reduções jesuíticas da província do Paraguai a guerra guaranítica' in João Medina, ed. *História de Portugal, dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Ediclube), 173-183. A revisionist study is Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

¹⁴³ Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, 98-102.

¹⁴⁴ *De adm.* 13.108 [2004, 98].

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Col. Pref; Sen. *Ep.* 51.10: *quae ad arma ab aratro transferentur...*

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Ovid. *Met.* 3.95-114. In Ovid's poem the warriors that rise from the ground killed each other until only five survived, who then went on to found the city of Thebes. In Vanière (and Peramás), the Indian warriors do not turn against each other, but against a common foe, and in the service of the King of Spain.

With their renowned expediency the youths come together in arms; and like the fierce men born from the dragon-teeth of Cadmus, the battle-line emerges from all the land. The Iberian marvels at the extraordinary troop . . . Finally they return from arms to the plough.

Vanière's praise of Guarani military prowess is echoed by Peramás, although less spectacularly in Chapter 13, where he praises the Indians' discipline and skill in warlike activities:

Diebus festis post vespertinum Officium simulacra belli quaedam obibant viri in foro, vibratis ad scopum sagittis, quarum mittendarum ita sunt periti, ut sive fugientem feram,¹⁴⁸ sive praetervolantem avem petant, vix umquam errant.

On festive days after Vespers the men attended a certain simulation of a battle in the forum, shooting arrows at a target, in which they are so skilled that they might hit a fleeing beast or a bird flying overhead, and they hardly ever miss.¹⁴⁹

Like bees, the Guarani were endowed with a natural skill in war, just as they seemed to possess 'the disposition of the birds' for music.¹⁵⁰ Such military expertise, Peramás pointed out, remained at the service of the King. Indeed, the Guarani had contributed to the defence of the province several times at their own expense. Peramás noted, for example, how the Guarani defended Montevideo from the Portuguese and helped build the fort of Buenos Aires in 1725, earning the praise of Governor Bruno Mauricio de Zavala.¹⁵¹ Peramás did not however mention the use of Guarani troops by the same Zavala in repressing the revolt of

¹⁴⁷ Vanière 14 [1746, 270].

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Stat. Silv. 2.5.11: 'victus fugiente fera.'

¹⁴⁹ De adm. 13.105 [2004, 97].

¹⁵⁰ De adm. 11.88 [2004, 85]: 'Jam vero cum indi propensissimi ad Musicam sint (diceret eos donatos ingenio avium quibus natura ipsa cantum inspirat) ita illam belle arripuerunt, ut Europaeis admirationi fuerint, & esse nunc etiam pergant' ('Now indeed the Indians are very favourably disposed towards Music - you might say they are blessed with the natural disposition of birds whom nature herself inspires to sing - and have taken hold of it so nicely that they became the admiration of Europeans, and now also continue to be).

¹⁵¹ De adm. 19. 193-194 [2004, 139]: 'Eidem autem Praetori (siquod bellum intraret) evocanti in auxilium Guaranicas copias, praesto hae aderant ad tria, quattuor, sex millia, ut saepe factum est pro obsidenda Colonia Lusitana, & tum quidem suis stipendiis militabant, ut antea docuimus. Neque omittendum hic est arcessitos quondam fuisse Guaranios magno numero ad muniendum Monsvideum, extruendamque arcem Bonaurenssem, de qua re Regem Catholicum certiore per litteras fecit Praetor Bruno Mauricius de Zavala cum eximia illorum commendatione.'

the *comuneros* of Paraguay in 1735, by which he showed a desire to minimise traces of the conflict with the Paraguayan neighbours of the Guarani missions.

Interestingly, Vanière was interpreted very differently in another American text: Basilio Da Gama's *O Uruguay* (1769) a Portuguese epic in five books which portrayed the Portuguese as liberators of the enslaved Guarani from the Jesuits during the war of 1754-56. Da Gama, whose Latin penname was *Termino Sipilio*, criticised Jesuits for their abuse of power and praised the anti-Jesuit policy of the Portuguese minister Pombal.¹⁵² Da Gama alluded to Vanière's description of Guarani military skill to uncover the dangerous machinations of Jesuits in attempting to create an autonomous state. He argued that Vanière and consequently Voltaire had erred in drawing an analogy between the Indians and bees. According to Da Gama, the military discipline of the Indians was used by the Jesuits not to guarantee peace or serve the king, but to further their rebellious plans.¹⁵³ In its accusation of power-hungry Jesuits and enslaved Indians, *O Uruguay* could be considered the poetic counterpart of Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarrí's *El Reino Jesuitico Paraguayo*. Presenting the Portuguese as liberators however, was not part of Ibáñez de Echavarrí's narrative. Indeed, the population of the frontier province of Paraguay was always alert to the possibility of Portuguese encroachment of Spanish territory.¹⁵⁴ The Portuguese are also the main enemies of the Guarani in *De administratione guaranica*.

Guarani patriotism and the uprising of 1754-1756

In chapter 25 Peramás finally addressed the issue of the insubordination of the Guarani directly. They were victims of the insatiable greed of the Portuguese, who were hoping to find treasures in the evacuated Guarani missions but instead found

¹⁵² Basilio da Gama, *O Uruguay* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1769). A refutation of the poem in Portuguese is attributed to the Jesuit Lorençou Kaulen, who after being exiled from Brazil remained confined in Portugal until his death in 1797. Cf. *Reposta apologetica ao poema intitulado O Uruguay, composto por Jose' Basilio da Gama*. . . (Lugano, 1786).

¹⁵³ In the nineteenth century *O Uruguay* became of a foundation text of Brazilian literary history. Cf. Röben de Alencar Xavier (2014).

¹⁵⁴ ANA SH Vol. 120 No. 9: Averiguación sobre la introducción de portugueses en territorio de la Provincia del Paraguay (1741). On Paraguay as a frontier province and the fear of the Portuguese see John Hoyt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800-1870* (Austin: University of Texas Press: 1979), particularly chapter 1 and 2.

only horns from slaughtered cattle.¹⁵⁵ The Guarani uprising is thus framed in terms of a defense of the *patria*: *Per id igitur tempus . . . Guaranii omnia tentabant (ut sua cuique patria dulcis est) ne avitis finibus expellentur*, ‘At that time . . . the Guarani tried everything, for his patria is to everyone sweet, and nobody desires to be expelled from their ancestral country’.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, at the time of the conflict the Jesuits of Paraguay consulted the University of Córdoba over the legitimacy of the uprising. The verdict from Córdoba was that the Treaty of Madrid was against natural law and that in this case the Indians would not have been required to obey the authorities.¹⁵⁷ Peramás preferred to explain the rebellion in terms of Guarani self-defence from the Portuguese, leaving the legal justification implied.

The Guarani only ever fought at the orders of the Spanish authorities, or in self-defence. In fact, they first took up weapons because the Spanish American administration of Paraguay failed to protect them from the *mamelucos* of Sao Paulo who regularly raided and pillaged the missions. Peramás explained that the Guarani obtained royal permission to bear firearms to defend themselves the *mamelucos*. Their military success in the end turned into their downfall. A new breed of *mamelucos*, the *philosophes*, had secured the expulsion of the Jesuits and the ruin of the province. Peramás painted a picture of an empty and desolate region, accompanied by a Ciceronian warning to those that interfere with God’s project:

Infesta fuerunt praeda immanium Mammalocorum, qui innumerabiles miserae nationis turmas in vincula abductas, & infami venditas pretio, exau[f]ferunt. Sed quorum haec, quae meminisse horret animus? Maximus Americae Meridialis tractus frequentissimis habitabatur Guaraniarum pagis. Ubi nunc illi sunt? Quo gentis ceteroqui faecundae soboles paene omnis recidit? Vastae solitudines, deserti saltus, silvae densae, & horrida ferarum lustra¹⁵⁸ priscas indigenarum sedes tenent. Neque tamen piratica

¹⁵⁵ *De. adm.* 25.281 [2004, 185].

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ José Andrés-Gallego, *Tres grandes cuestiones de la historia de Iberoamérica: ensayos y monografía: derecho y justicia en la historia de Iberoamérica; Afroamérica, la tercera raíz; impacto en América de la expulsión de los jesuitas* (Madrid: Mapfre Tavera/Ignacio Larramendi.: 2005), 32.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Verg. *G.*2.472 and Verg. *A.*3.647: ‘*lustra ferarum*’; Val. Fl.4.370: ‘*lustra horrida monstribus*’.

*Mammalocorum colonia captivis Indis crevit: fit quippe justo Dei Iudicio, ut male parta male dilabantur.*¹⁵⁹

They were the unfortunate prey of the monstrous *mamelucos*, who carried away innumerable numbers of that miserable nation held in chains, and sold them at an infamous price. But of these deeds, how many the mind is horrified to recall? The greatest part of South America was inhabited by numerous districts of the Guarani. Where are they now? Wherefore is the offspring of that otherwise prolific people mostly gone to naught? Vast solitudes, desert woodlands, dense forests and horrible dens of beasts now hold the ancient abodes of the indigenous people. The pirate colonies of the *mamelucos* however did not grow with the captive Indians: this of course is according to the just Justice of God, so that what is ill conceived, ill goes.¹⁶⁰

Finally, the outcry and malicious slander over Indian ‘rebellion’ in Europe was compared to the storm that Juno sent against the Trojans in the *Aeneid*. Is it the homeless Guarani that Peramás mourned though, or was it a lament for the exiled Jesuits? Both seemed to merge in the comparison with the wandering Trojans, who have also lost their *patria* due to the viciousness of a superior being. Peramás rarely mentioned the political architects of the expulsion of the Jesuits by name, but towards the end of *De administratione guaranica* he explicitly compared Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the infamous Marquis of Pombal, to Aeolus, who raised the storm at the behest of Juno. We have come back to the *Aeneid*. If we are to believe Peramás, not only are the Jesuits exiles in Italy but the Guarani are exiles in their own land:

*Aeolus ille (Carvallium volui dicere):
 . . . Cavum conversa cuspide montem
 Impulit in latus: ac venti, velut agmine facto,
 Qua data porta ruunt, & terras turbine perflant...
 Eripiunt subito nubes coelumque diemque
 Teucrorum ex oculis, ponto nox incubat atra.*¹⁶¹

That Aeolus (I meant to say Carvalho) . . . with inverted spear smote the hollow side of the mountain. The winds, as a battle line, rushed in through the open door and sweep tumultuously through the lands... Suddenly the clouds hide the sky and the day from the eyes of the Trojans. Dark night descends on the ocean.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Cic.*Phil.*2.27: ‘male parta, male dilabantur’.

¹⁶⁰ *De adm.* 13.106 [2004, 97].

¹⁶¹ Verg. *A.*1.181-189.

¹⁶² *De adm.* 25.282 [2004, 186].

One voice that is notably absent from Peramás' account is that of the Indians themselves. There is evidence however of Guaraní patriotism in some letters written in reaction to the Treaty of Madrid. If the creoles of Córdoba took pride in their conquistador ancestors and aimed to equal Europeans their level of classical learning, the Guaraní also reminded Europeans - and the Jesuits themselves - that it was Indian hands that had built the missions. Their land was imbued not only with the blood of Jesuit martyrs, but also of their ancestors killed by the *mamelucos*. One example is the eloquent testimony of Nicolás Ñeengirú, a *cacique* from the mission of Concepción and later leader during the rebellion, who wrote a letter to the Governor of Buenos Aires José de Andoategui (in Guaraní) in 1753:

This land, our children say, only God gave it to us. On this land our holy teacher Father Roque González and many of our relatives have died ... Well, why do the Portuguese desire the land so much? It is not theirs. Only our hands have worked and tended this land. Neither the Portuguese nor the Spaniards have done such things as build a magnificent church, a beautiful town, ranches for our cattle, *yerba maté* and cotton plantations, and farms. What was achieved was the result of our hard work. [...] That great *cacique* Nicolás Ñeengirú is my true ancestor with whom a long time ago at the beginning Father Roque González had entered this land.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The expulsion of 1767 constituted a hinge point in Peramás' vision of Spanish America and his use of classical learning. It had the immediate effect of removing Peramás from Córdoba in more ways than one. His *Annus Patiens* literally recounted how his life in a corner of Spanish America came to an abrupt end, and he was forced to join a continental mass exodus of Jesuits. In the 1770s and 1780s, his literary attention would be devoted to pan-American historical events such as the exile of the Jesuits and the Spanish conquest. The expulsion therefore seems to have the effect of broadening his vision to include all of Spanish America. His only remaining tie to Paraguay would be the fact that Jesuits were exiled according to province (the Paraguayan Jesuits eventually settled in Faenza, the Catalans in Ferrara with the Province of Aragón, etc.). This

¹⁶³ In Ganson, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, Appendix 1, 191-194.

is a crucial point, for Peramás eventually returned to Paraguay as a subject in his later writings, and he could then rely on the knowledge of fellow exiles such as Domingo Muriel and José Cardiel.

The *Annus Patiens* and the elegy *Finis Annis Patientis* expressed Peramás' pain at parting from Córdoba and the American landscape, but in spite of his strong feelings, there is initially no sense that he particularly identified with Córdoba or Paraguay as 'home'. Peramás' most poignant laments were about the loss of the *Jesuit* monuments of Córdoba: the college, the church, and the tombs of other Jesuits. The real *patria* which he would never again see, was announced in the elegy to be Spain. His very identity as a Jesuit was severely tested by the expulsion, as illustrated by the allusion to the fall of Troy and the sepulchral 'We were Jesuits'. A Jesuit with no missionary or teaching purpose was hardly a Jesuit.

While most exiled Jesuits strongly identified themselves with the particular region of the New World they had left behind, the fact that Peramás chose for the preliminary verses of his epic *De invento novo orbe* a location (Quito) with which he was not personally associated could indicate that in the 1770s he inclined towards a form of Spanish pan-Americanism, as Miguel Batllori has suggested.¹⁶⁴ His dedication of the epic to Mariana of Quito coincided with a call for her canonisation, and implicitly claimed her as a spiritual daughter of the Jesuits around the time that the order was suppressed. In the dedication the poet declared that her 'kingdoms are the greatest part of the earth, and the renown of [her] City and the New World are borne above the skies.' Yet Peramás, a native Catalan, had lived in Río de la Plata for just over a decade before he was exiled to the Papal States. He had no obvious connection to Quito. The pan-American scope of the poem is also indicated by the very choice of Columbus as its subject. Columbus' legacy has never been confined to the Caribbean – Mexico and South America are also prominent in the *De invento novo orbe*. No other Spanish American Jesuit epic had ever celebrated

¹⁶⁴ Miguel Batllori, *La Cultura Hispano-Italiana*, 353, 584.

Columbus (or any pan-American theme).

Exile marked a change in Peramás' preoccupations and a shift in tone from exultant to apologetic, which is noticeable in the epic. No longer concerned with the local interests of Córdoba, Peramás chose Columbus as the subject of his poem because he desired to react to the anti-Spanish intellectual climate of Italy and Europe. The creole orator persona Peramás had adopted in the *Laudationes Quinque* seemed to give way to a Spanish patriot in the epic, though he contradicted none of the themes of the *Laudationes*. In the orations Peramás had declared that Columbus achieved the greatest deed in history, and urged the creoles of Córdoba to take pride in the achievements of their conquistador ancestors.

An interest in celebrating Christianity as the bringer of civilisation was present in the orations, but became intensified and apologetic in the works of exile. By making the 'Introduction of Christ's Sacrifice to the New World' the focus of his 1776 epic, Peramás indicated his desire to expound the role of religion in America and thus refute the untruths and slanders of those who opposed Spain's colonisation of the Americas. The composition of the epic, drawing from modern histories as well as classical models, was driven by the need to respond to the anti-religious trend in Enlightenment thought and to the patriotic desire to refute the emerging 'Black Legend'.

Moreover, exile signaled a change in Peramás' use of classical learning from an unchallenged and distant position in Córdoba to Italy, 'the mother of eloquence.' Peramás also relied on classical sources in his desire to defend the Jesuit missionary effort of America in his last work about the Guarani missions in his *De administratione guaranica comparate ad Rempublicam Platonis commentarius* (1793). His framework was mainly Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* and the eighteenth-century poem *Praedium Rusticum* (1730) by Jacques Vanière (particularly Book XIV on bees), with references made to other authors such as Tacitus and Cicero. These sources constitute not so much models of the Guarani system, but tools that Peramás drew upon to articulate his own discourse on the missions of Paraguay. Peramás developed Vanière's metaphor of the bees to portray the Indians positively, as politically-active citizens who

cooperate with the Jesuit vision of governance. The role of the Jesuits themselves in the *De administratione guaranica* is limited to that of paternalistic and benevolent *cultores* whose main task was to give guidance.

Towards the end of his life, exile seems to have sharpened rather than dulled Peramás' identification with Spanish American and specifically *rioplatense* concerns. In 1793 he was writing mainly for an audience of exiled Jesuits in Europe who blamed European *philosophes* for spreading slanders about the Society. The works of the middle and later period consistently attempted to refute misinformation or lies about the Jesuits by relying on eyewitness testimony. More intriguing is Peramás' explicit comparison between the *philosophes* and the savage *mamelucos* in the closing pages of the *De administratione guaranica*. He thus equated the enemies of the Jesuits in Europe with the enemies of the Guarani and Spanish Americans in America. Jesuits and the Guarani stood for civilisation in contrast to the barbarism of the philosophers of the Enlightenment and the raiding Portuguese. In this way *De administratione guaranica*, although directed primarily towards a European audience, at the same time continued to engage with and reflect on American preoccupations in the Rio de la Plata.

In Chapter 1 we saw how in his *Laudationes Quinque* Peramás had confidently presented things as they were to the creoles of Córdoba. In contrast, towards the end of his life, the *De administratione guaranica* conveyed Peramás' distinctive vision of the missions as an ideal Christian state in America – a characterisation of how things should be, or rather, things that had been realised in a recent but irretrievable past. He purposefully contrasted the missions to the chaotic governments of the French Revolution era. His other objective was to refute the accusation that the Jesuits had created an autonomous state which they governed like kings. Yet in the end, perhaps inadvertently, Peramás presented a semi-autonomous state conformed by Indians and overseen by Jesuits. As such, the missions of Paraguay in *De administratione guaranica* provided a precedent of statehood in the period preceding independence. Nevertheless, this was a model which depended on the presence of Jesuits for its sustainability and which insisted on loyalty to the Spanish crown. It was never intended to be entirely autonomous, much less revolutionary.

Chapter 3: Classical Learning in Colonial Paraguay, The Jesuit College of Asunción and the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos (c. 1750-1790)

Introduction

This chapter considers the transformation of classical learning in Paraguay after the Jesuit expulsion of 1767, from the Latinate college culture promoted by Jesuits to a vernacular and secular classical learning in the service of the Bourbon state. It takes a micro-historical approach by focusing on the fate of the Jesuit college of Asunción. Two sections, pre- and post-Jesuit, address changes and continuities in classical learning in the context of radical institutional and demographic shifts. Under the Jesuits, the college aimed to train creole elites to become leaders of the republic. After the expulsion, the Bourbon authorities re-purposed the college and its resources with an utilitarian agenda: to train priests that would help fill the vacuum left by the Jesuits in the missions. This included the formation of Indian clergy, which Jesuits as a rule had not promoted in their desire to keep creole and Indian republics separate. The post-Jesuit period however, is characterised precisely by the breakdown of the system of the two republics, as Indians from the former missions moved into colonial society and mingled with black and creole populations. The Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos, founded on the remains of the Jesuit college in 1783, was thus the result of a convergence of goals: it was a response to creole pressure for autonomous education, and a Spanish strategy to control the Indian population of Paraguay.

In the first section the annual memoirs of the rectors between 1758 and 1765 and the catalogue of the library of Asunción allow us to reconstruct the nature of classical learning under the Jesuits, which is demonstrated by an

examination of a few editions of grammars and classical texts. The cultivation of Grammar and Rhetoric were the pillars of this Jesuit education. The second section begins with a brief survey of reforms at Córdoba after 1767. It then traces the efforts of Paraguayan creoles to establish their own institution of higher learning, culminating in the foundation of the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos in 1783. Records from the Archive of Asunción form the basis of the second section, which includes an analysis of the Plan de Estudios of San Carlos. This plan is characterised by a rejection of Jesuit Rhetoric and increased use of the vernacular, along with the adoption of anti-Jesuit Jansenist theological texts. Overall, Bourbon authorities rejected the Jesuit project of educating creole patricians and instead aimed to train priests who could preach effectively to a popular audience, thus promoting moral behaviour approved by the state.

The Jesuit University of Córdoba was the only university to the east and south of the Andean highlands in the eighteenth century. Founded in 1613 as the Colegio Máximo of Córdoba, it remained under Jesuit control until the Society's expulsion from Spanish America in 1767, when the university was placed in the hands of the Franciscan order. Córdoba retained its place as the leading educational centre of the Rio de la Plata at a time of important administrative changes. In 1776, as part of the Bourbon reforms aiming to centralise the government of the Americas, the Rio de la Plata was officially declared a separate viceroyalty from Peru. Buenos Aires became the commercial and political centre of the new viceroyalty, which included modern Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. Indeed, Buenos Aires petitioned the Council of Indies to have the university moved to their city, but Córdoba staunchly defended its educational traditions. In the end Buenos Aires' petition was rejected on the grounds that as port city it offered many 'distractions' to students.¹ So Córdoba maintained its hegemony of *rioplatense* higher education, in spite of the local struggle between the Franciscans and secular clergy over control of the university, which ended only in 1800 with the victory of the latter. More importantly, Córdoba continued to attract creoles from the rest of the Rio de la Plata, including far off Paraguay.

¹ Alfredo Pueyrredón, *Algunos aspectos de la enseñanza en la Universidad de Córdoba durante la Regencia Franciscana*. Cuadernos de Historia 24 (Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1953), 7.

The relationship of Asunción with Córdoba complicates models of centre-periphery which dominated Paraguayan historiography in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such studies focused on mounting political and economic tensions between Buenos Aires and Asunción (with the looming shadow of Portuguese Brazil), leading ultimately to the independence of Paraguay in 1811.² Buenos Aires' predominance in trade during the late eighteenth century is undeniable, but more recent scholarship has started to analyse Asunción's interaction with other colonial actors such as Corrientes and Santa Fe.³ The move towards regional histories is a constructive development in a field where (anachronistic) national histories predominate. Archive records indicate that a network of educated creoles moved across the Rio de la Plata in all sorts of secular and ecclesiastical offices, including but not restricted to the Jesuit network. The intellectual history of late colonial Paraguay has to be seen in terms of the complex relationship between colonial institutions (colleges, viceregal structures and religious orders) and spaces (Asunción, Córdoba, Buenos Aires and Spain).

In contrast to the Jesuit Province of Paraguay and its missions, the Jesuit College of Asunción and its role in *secular* Paraguay has received little attention.⁴ Exceptions are recent studies of the economic role of the college, in particular its importance in colonial society as a major slave-owner.⁵ The college of Asunción has also been analysed along with those in Corrientes and Santa Fe in connection to Jesuit attempts to found missions among the Guaycurú, Mocoví and Abipones in the south-east of the Chaco – tribes that until the 1740s continued to pose a

² Blas Garay, *Breve resumen de la historia del Paraguay* (Madrid 1897); Cecilio Báez, *Ensayo sobre el Dr. Francia y la dictadura en Sudamérica* (Asunción: Talleres Nacionales de H. Graus, 1910); Gregorio Benítez, *La Revolución de Mayo de 1814-1815* (Asunción: El Lector, 1996 [1906]).

³ An example is Thomas Whigham, *The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780–1870* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

⁴ The Academia Paraguaya de Historia is seeking to address this vacuum by publishing the 1758–1765 *Cartas Anuas*, which should facilitate access to sources for historians. I wish to thank the Academia and Prof. Ignacio Telesca for providing me with a sneak preview of the forthcoming publication.

⁵ Ignacio Telesca, 'Esclavos y Jesuitas: el colegio de Asunción del Paraguay' in *AHSI* 75 no. 153 (2008): 191–211; Ignacio Telesca, *Tras los Expulsos. Cambios demográficos y territoriales en el Paraguay después de la expulsión de los jesuitas* (Asunción, Paraguay: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos de la Universidad Católica, 2009); Ignacio Telesca, 'Más allá de las misiones: El Colegio Jesuítico de Asunción en el siglo XVIII' in *Diálogos* 13 no. 2 (2009): 323–345.

threat to these cities.⁶ Indeed, the college of Asunción functioned as the base of the missions of Belén for the Mbayá (founded by José Sánchez Labrador in 1760) and Timbó for the Abipones (Martin Dobrizhoffer, 1762).⁷

Much remains to be explored about the role of the college of Asunción within wider colonial society. The teaching of Latin in the college of Asunción, to say nothing of the intellectual history of colonial Paraguay, has received no treatment to this date, in comparison to other parts of Spanish America.⁸ This is partly due to prevailing narratives of Paraguayan history, in which the province is assumed to have suffered from the indifference of Spain and the censorship of books, only becoming intellectually alive with the importation of Enlightenment ideas. An example is the history of education in the colonial period by Olinda Massare de Kostianovsky, where the Jesuit College is not seen as having contributed in any significant way.⁹ This view however reveals more about the legacy of early twentieth-century Paraguayan historiography than colonial Paraguay itself.¹⁰ In addition, a lack of sources hindered further studies of the

⁶ María L. Salinas, 'San Fernando del Río Negro. Un intento evangelizador jesuítico a los abipones' in *Diálogos* no. 2 (2003): 293-322; Nidia Areces, 'La Compañía de Jesús en Santa Fe, 1610-1767. Las tramas del poder' in Teresa Suárez and Nidia Areces, eds., in *Estudios históricos regionales en el espacio rioplatense: de la colonia a mediados del siglo XIX* (Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 2004): 13-43; Alicia Juliana Pioli, *O Colégio jesuíta de Corrientes*, MA dissertation (São Leopoldo: Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, 2002).

⁷ José Sánchez Labrador (1717-1798), missionary, linguist and naturalist. He started his work on the peoples and nature of the Chaco while in Asunción but many of his papers were confiscated. His *Paraguay Católico* (1770), finished in exile in Italy and which included his own drawings, remained unpublished until 1910; *DHCJ* Vol. 4, 3492.

⁸ See for example Guillermo Furlong, *Historia del colegio del Salvador y de sus irradiaciones culturales y espirituales en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1617-1941* (Buenos Aires, 1944); José M. Rivas Sacconi, *El latín en Colombia. Bosquejo histórico del Humanismo colombiano* (Bogotá: Instituto colombiano de Cultura, 1977); Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Colegios y profesores jesuitas que enseñaron latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)* (Mexico, 1979); Luis Martín, *La conquista intelectual del Perú. El colegio Jesuita de San Pablo, 1568-1767* (Barcelona: Casiopea, 2001); José del Rey Fajardo, *La República de las Letras en la Venezuela colonial (La enseñanza de las Humanidades en los colegios jesuíticos)* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2007).

⁹ Cf. Olinda Massare de Kostianovsky, *La instrucción pública en el Paraguay colonial* (Asunción: Escuela Técnica Salesiana, 1968), 106: 'muy poco aportó al desenvolvimiento intelectual del Paraguay.' This is a well-researched but rather outdated survey. It continues to be valuable due to the appendix, where the author transcribed several documents from ANA.

¹⁰ In the twentieth century the legacy of the Jesuits was often interpreted in light of the dictatorship of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (1814-1840) and the trauma of the Triple Alliance War under Francisco Solano López (1865-1870). The famous debate in 1902-1903 between Cecilio Báez and Juan O'Leary looked to the Jesuit past for possible explanations of why Paraguayans had followed López in a losing war against Argentina and Brazil. O'Leary portrayed López as a hero who led intelligent, patriotic Paraguayans in a desperate struggle for survival. In contrast, Báez argued that the colonial experience (i.e.: slavery under the Spanish and the Jesuits) and then slavery in all but name under Francia had created a 'nation of idiots' whom López used for his megalomaniac

cultural impact of the college. This is no longer the case, for the inventory of the Jesuit library has been located in the national archives of Buenos Aires and published in 2006.¹¹ Although the actual library has been lost, the details provided by the inventory allow us to trace similar editions available elsewhere.¹² After outlining the institutional context of the college this section will then proceed to examine the library's holdings of classical texts and grammars.

The Jesuit College of Asunción

Institutional context

In 1588 the first Jesuits arrived in Asunción. Between 1609, when the Superior General Fr. Claudio Acquaviva authorised the creation of a college, until the expulsion of 1767, the history of the college was intertwined with two events that earned the people of Asunción a reputation as troublemakers. The first is the 1640s struggle between the Franciscan bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas and the governor Gregorio de Hinestrosa, who was supported by the Jesuits. In 1641 Cárdenas, a native of Upper Peru, consulted with the Jesuits of Salta and Córdoba whether it was legitimate for him to take possession of the diocese of Asunción before the arrival of the papal bulls. The rector of Salta expressed his approval, but the more authoritative theologians of Córdoba considered it irregular, a position they maintained even after Cárdenas had been consecrated bishop. Cárdenas retaliated with a campaign smearing the Jesuits for introducing heresy in their Guaraní catechisms, and for sending gold from the missions to foreign powers.¹³ Cárdenas was forcibly removed in 1644 and retired to Corrientes (not

projects. See Liliana Brezzo and Ricardo Scavone Yegros, *Polémica sobre la Historia del Paraguay: Cecilio Báez y Juan E. O'Leary* (Asunción: Tiempo de Historia, 2008).

¹¹ AGN, BN, Sala IX, 22.9.1; Marisa Andrea Gorzalczany y Alejandro Olmos Gaona, *La biblioteca jesuítica de Asunción* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del autor, 2006).

¹² One volume of Jean de Lorin's *Commentarii in Librorum Psalmorum* (Lyon, 1617) was recently discovered in the Biblioteca Nacional de Asunción, which may yet reveal more surprises; *Abc color* (11 August 2015): <http://www.abc.com.py/espectaculos/cultura/hallan-obra-jesuita-mas-antigua-en-biblioteca-nacional-1397056.html>

¹³ Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España* Vol. 5 (Madrid: Administración de Razón y Fe, 1916), 568-596.

before excommunicating the Jesuits and Hinestrosa), but he returned in 1647 to live in the Franciscan monastery of Asunción.

In 1649, on the death of the governor Diego de Escobar y Osorio, the *cabildo* of Asunción invoked a conquest-era cédula which technically allowed them to elect an interim governor on the death of a governor.¹⁴ They chose Cárdenas, who endowed with secular authority as governor, expelled the Jesuits and reportedly burnt down the college.¹⁵ Although Cárdenas and his supporters were quickly defeated by an army sent by the viceroy of Perú (and composed largely of mission Indians) tensions resurfaced in the next century. During the creole uprisings of 1721-1735 under the leadership of the lawyer José de Antequera known as the *Revolt of the comuneros* the Jesuits were again expelled from their college in 1724 and in 1732. Both revolts compromised the continuity of the Jesuits' educational programme but after 1735, when the Jesuits returned to Asunción, the college appears to have functioned normally until 1767.

The Jesuits of Asunción had standing orders to involve themselves in politics as little as possible. The *Ordenanzas* of Nicolás Mastrilli Durán (provincial of Paraguay 1623-1629) had ordered that Jesuits were not to visit the governor frequently nor provide written advice, or even intervene in disputes.¹⁶ After the Cárdenas and Antequera episodes the Jesuits may have been warier to follow these injunctions. The *Cartas Anuas*, written by the college rectors José Robles and Antonio Miranda between 1758 and 1765, show that the college dedicated itself mainly to educational and pastoral duties. The Jesuits provided Spiritual Exercises for men and women, two or three-month missionary trips to surrounding areas, and regular administration of the sacraments to a population that included a large proportion of black slaves. In 1765 Antonio Miranda wryly remarked that 'the people of this country hold little or no love towards the

¹⁴ By a Royal Cédula of 1587 Charles I of Spain had authorised Alonso Cabrera, the leader of an expedition to the Rio de la Plata, to gather the people and choose a new governor if the first *adelantado*-governor Pedro de Mendoza, who died at sea on his return to Spain, had not already assigned one.

¹⁵ Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús* Vol. 5, 601-610.

¹⁶ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6339. Mastrilli (c.1568-1653) was rector of the colleges of Quito (1604) and Chuquisaca (1608) as well as twice provincial of Perú (1630-1634; 1639-1644). He died at the College of San Pablo, Lima; *DHCJ* Vol. 3, 2566-2567; *CJPP* 872/271.

Society, with the exception of this or that person; but their esteem for our ministries is great.’¹⁷

Demographic information about Asunción for these years can only be estimated from accounts of Jesuits themselves. As the oldest settlement in the Rio de la Plata, Asunción was densely populated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1684 local settlers (*vecinos*) residing in Asunción numbered 2000, which is the highest figure in the Rio de la Plata, compared to 1000 in Córdoba, 500 in Buenos Aires (plus 900 soldiers), 400 in Corrientes and 300 in Santa Fe.¹⁸ In 1761, according to the census ordered by the Bishop Manuel Antonio de la Torre, the total population of the diocese of Paraguay numbered 85,088 people, with 61% classified as Indian and 39% as non-Indian. By 1782 the population had grown by only 10,000, but the proportions had been inverted, with 68.7% now claiming to be non-Indian. Telesca has argued that these numbers show the success of Indians (most likely the Guaraní of the former Jesuit missions) in passing themselves off as *españoles*.¹⁹ In fact, the category of *mestizo* was not used before the 1799 census, which had been designed in Buenos Aires – and then only 1.2% of the population in Paraguay was classified as *mestizo*.²⁰ The census of 1782 also listed 6,793 free *pardos* (blacks and mulattos) and 3,953 slaves, with the largest concentration found near Asunción. These numbers constituted 11% of the total population of Paraguay, providing further evidence that the old creole elite was indeed a minority.²¹

¹⁷ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337.

¹⁸ Magnus Mörner, *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region. The Habsburg Era* (Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American Studies, 1953), 218-219.

¹⁹ Ignacio Telesca ‘Paraguay a fines de la colonia: ¿mestizo, español o indígena?’ in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 46 (2009): 261-288.

²⁰ Ignacio Telesca provided a useful summary and critique of Paraguayan historiography on *mestizaje* in his article ‘Paraguay a fines de la colonia: ¿mestizo, español o indígena?’, observing also the concern of the governor Alós regarding the number of unions between Indians and blacks. This further blurred racial lines, which were never fixed though described in genealogical terms. A discussion of the perception that early modern bodies were mutable is found in Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, especially pp. 187-216. Useful literature on the fluidity of caste categories includes María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Rebecca Earle, ‘The Pleasures of Taxonomy: Casta Paintings, Classification, and Colonialism’, in *William and Mary Quarterly* 73 no. 3 (2016): 427-466.

²¹ Jan M.G. Kleinpenning, *Paraguay 1511-1870. A Thematic Geography of its Development* Vol. 2 (Frankfurt/Madrid: 2003), 781-784.

Further details help to indicate the kind of community entrusted to the Jesuits of Asunción. The number of people who completed the Spiritual Exercises (led by the rector) illustrates the nature of the community: 328 in 1763 (including clergy, '*españoles, y españolas, mulatos, y mestizos*'), 220 in 1764, and 284 in 1765. Most of the people lived in the *chacras* (small fields) sprawled around the urban centre of Asunción. In fact in 1765 Miranda partly ascribed the poverty of colonial Paraguay to its dense population and subsistence economy:

There is no doubt that this province has many people, for everywhere one finds it settled, with three, four or more ranches together, and with barely a quarter of a *legua* of distance between them. But it is precisely because there are many people that poverty is great here. While they possess land for cultivation, this is limited to maize, tobacco, cotton, sugarcane, manioc, watermelons, melons, peanuts, *batatas* and other trifles that are of little utility, and which many years are lost to the locust, frost or drought.²²

In 1758 José Robles commented that most of the population could only attend Lenten services at night because they worked in their *chacras* throughout the day.²³ Antonio Miranda, who was rector in 1764, concurred that few people had houses in the city, since most of them lived near their *chacras*, and besides they were so poor that they could not afford appropriate clothes for daytime events, including the cape and such attire as illustrated by Florian Paucke in his memoirs of Paraguay *Hin und Her* (c.1770-1780):

²² AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6338.

²³ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337.



Figure 8 - 'Dress of Spaniards in America' by Florian Paucke, S.J. [Hin und Her. Zwettler Codex 420, 1770/1773-1780]. Museo Casa Histórica de la Independencia, Tucumán. Galería de Imágenes: http://www.museocasahistorica.org.ar/wordpress/wp-content/gallery/colonial/07_colonial_florian-paucke.

An average of twelve priests and five coadjutor brothers were stationed at the college. In practice however fewer remained in Asunción. Two attended the cattle-ranch (and over 300 slaves) in Paraguari, about 160 kilometres away. After 1760 at least one priest from Asunción was destined to the Chaco missions. Out of the remaining priests, three to four taught at the college. Altogether, their educational and pastoral duties would have kept the resident priests of Asunción with their hands full, to say nothing of organising and requesting funds for their outreach missionary programme to the Chaco. Five to six coadjutor brothers supported the college, including a sacristan, an apothecary, a nurse, a steward and a procurator who oversaw trade of goods such as *yerba mate* with other Jesuit colleges and possibly with *asuncenos* themselves.²⁴

²⁴ Telesca, 'Más allá de las misiones': 323-345. In 1753 the number of cattle in Paraguari amounted to 24,000; the ranch was worked by 380 slaves. An additional 256 slaves worked in the *chacra* of San Lorenzo, nearer Asunción. See also Jorge Troisi Melean, *Los colegios de la provincia del Paraguay y sus esclavos. Congreso Internacional: Jesuitas, 400 años en Córdoba*. Vol. 1 (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2000): 339-352. Cf. Chapter 2 note 91.

The college therefore served much more than the educational needs of Asunción, but education was still an integral function of the institution. Student records of the college are thus far unavailable, but Miranda remarked in 1765 that 200 students usually attended elementary school, out of which 50 proceeded onto Grammar (Latin), about 12 completed the course of Philosophy, and very few finished the Theology course.²⁵ Despite the decline in numbers at higher levels, it is significant that at least 200 students passed through the elementary Jesuit classroom every year.

Miranda listed several reasons for student drop-out and the decline of studies in the 1760s. First, the poverty of the students was such that they lacked clothes (or even shoes) and a convenient space to study. Second, many left to work their *chacras*, satisfied with ‘having learnt to read a bit and form four words’. Third, those that entered the Grammar class became bored and disillusioned because of the difficulty and because ‘they do not know Castilian and do not understand the explanations of the teacher (since everyone here is raised with Guarani; this adulterated language is what they imbibe with their milk and afterwards speak among themselves)’.

The issue of language would have important implications on the teaching of Latin. Since Guarani dominated as the students’ native language and their preferred means of conversation, Latin would have effectively constituted a second foreign language after Spanish. It seems from the rector’s comments that Jesuit professors taught in Spanish at the elementary level of schooling, but even this did not prepare students for the transition to Latin Grammar. Indeed the textbooks and grammars used by the Jesuits, which this section will discuss in some detail below, were based on acquisition of Latin through Spanish. Therefore, pupils at the Grammar stage would have encountered a double language barrier in learning Latin.

It is not that Jesuits were not proficient at Guarani, but quite the contrary.²⁶ Bishop Cárdenas had actually accused them of preaching heresy by teaching the

²⁵ Massare de Kostianovsky gives the number of students attending elementary classes in 1609 as 400, including sons of Indians, but this is probably too generous an estimate (p. 101).

²⁶ Indeed, at higher levels the study of indigenous languages was formalised. For instance, the University of San Francisco Xavier in Chuquisaca (modern Sucre, Bolivia) had a chair of Aymara; Villalba Pérez, *Consecuencias educativas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de América*, 122.

catechism in Guarani. Peramás commented in his *De administratione guaranica* that a native Jesuit from Asunción, Roque Rivas²⁷, used to preach in Guarani because the majority of the people of Asunción spoke that language: ‘even though they know Spanish, they prefer to be spoken to in Guarani, the language which they are used to since childhood and in which they converse among themselves in the fields and at home.’²⁸ Moreover, the inventory of the library listed many manuscripts and devotional compositions in Guarani. Thus, it seems that the Jesuits used Guarani to reach the majority of the population but were more reluctant to use it as part of their elementary teaching. After all, a Jesuit education aimed to produce leaders within the colonial hierarchy, and ‘learning Spanish [was] crucial to the process of citizenship and identity formation within the empire.’²⁹

It is also possible that the spoken Guarani of the *asunceno* boys did not even conform to the expectations of Jesuits who were accustomed to the less ‘adulterated’ Guarani of the missions. That is, the students may have spoken a kind of Guarani mixed with Spanish, which nowadays is known colloquially as *jopará* and which is spoken by the majority of the Paraguayan population.³⁰

Antonio Miranda listed two further reasons for the low turnout of graduates. One reason lay in the competition of the Franciscan school, which offered elementary schooling as well as Grammar, Philosophy and Theology, but without ‘restraint or regularity’. Miranda complained that parents and their children ‘love liberty and moving about freely’, and transferred to the less demanding Franciscan school without notifying the Jesuits. Furthermore, Miranda, ever practical, noted the scarcity of curates and ecclesiastical benefices in secular Paraguay, so that students saw little advantage in improving and competing over these posts. One can safely assume that these problems did not vanish with the expulsion of the

²⁷ B. 1703 Asunción; d. 1790 Faenza (*CJPP* 1187/997).

²⁸ *De adm.* 10.77 [2004, 78].

²⁹ José del Rey Fajardo, ‘The Role of Libraries in the Missionary Regions of *Orinoquia*’, in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 no. 2 (2015): 218.

³⁰ For historical-linguistic surveys of Guarani in Paraguay, including the differences between Guarani in the Jesuit missions and the rest of colonial Paraguay see Bartomeu Meliá, *La lengua guaraní del Paraguay: historia, sociedad y literatura* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992); Azucena Palacios Alcaine, *Introducción a la lengua y cultura guaraníes* (Valencia: Universitat de València Department de Teoria dels Llenguatges, 1999).

Jesuits, for in fact the records of the Real Colegio Seminario San Carlos between 1783 and 1810 would make many of the same points.

Those students who did excel and added lustre to the college earned a special place in the rector's memoirs. In 1761 José Robles reported that the Philosophy public event showcased the wonderful spectacle of one family's talents. A sixteen-year old boy was joined in a declamatory display by four of his brothers, all natives of Asunción: Fr. Francisco Legal, another a vicar of the diocese, another a soldier, and the final one another student. The governor Jaime de Saint Just also joined in:

Even though the governor is a cavalier of cape and sword, he has attended schools; and he proposed an argument, which he followed with interest, manifesting the liveliness of his mind... and he could say of this harvest what he said at a similar occasion: *cedant arma togae* ('Arms give way to the toga').³¹

The governor's use of a line from Cicero about military prowess giving way to public speaking highlighted the perceived value of Jesuit education. The career paths of the Legal brothers (the Jesuit order, the secular clergy, and the army) displayed the various routes followed by graduates of the college as leaders of society. For this purpose the college offered the subjects of Philosophy and Theology in addition to Grammar. Their programme expanded from teaching only Grammar in request to the petition of Asunción for higher education, as the rector José Robles explained in 1758:

The chair of Scholastic Theology was added this year so that the youth of this Republic could have the comfort of studying and graduating with less cost than going to Córdoba or another city, [as this *cabildo*] for a while now has attempted to found a Royal Seminary like the one in Córdoba, where youths could study... and obtain degrees.³²

The names of the professors and the subjects they taught are contained in the following table, drawn from the annual memoirs of rectors José Robles (1758-1761) and Antonio Miranda (1762-1765), with notes on substitutions of

³¹ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.77.

³² AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337.

professors. The coadjutor brother Jacinto Quintana³³ worked as the elementary schoolmaster during the period between 1758 and 1765.

Table 1 – Jesuit professors at the College of Asuncion (1758-1765)

1758: 12 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers. Rector: Rafael Caballero ³⁴ (until June), José Robles ³⁵	
Jacinto Benedicto ³⁶	Grammar
Francisco Legal ³⁷	First year of Philosophy
Carlos Aguirre ³⁸	Moral Theology
1759: 12 priests and 5 coadjutor brothers.	
Jacinto Benedicto	Grammar
Francisco Legal	Second year of Philosophy (Metaphysics)
José Sánchez Labrador ³⁹	Moral Theology
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology
1760: 14 priests and 5 coadjutor brothers	
Jacinto Benedicto	Grammar
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo ⁴⁰	Logic
Francisco Legal	Metaphysics
Antonio Flores ⁴¹	Moral Theology
José Sánchez Labrador	Scholastic Theology (Prime) - until August,
when left for the Mbayá mission	
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology (Vespers)
1761: 16 priests and 5 coadjutor brothers	
Jacinto Benedicto	Grammar - until April. Left for the
missions. Replaced by José Mas. ⁴²	
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo	Philosophy
Antonio Flores	Moral Theology
Juan de Rico ⁴³	Scholastic Theology (Prime)
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology (Vespers)
1762: 13 priests and 6 coadjutor brothers. Rector: Gabriel Novat ⁴⁴ (interim), Antonio Miranda ⁴⁵ arrived in September. José Robles left for the college of Buenos Aires	
José Mas	Grammar

³³ B. 1710 Buenos Aires; d. Faenza 1787 (CJPP no. 1151/1034).

³⁴ B. 1684 Asunción; d. 1763 Asunción (CJPP no. 225/834).

³⁵ B.1709 Jaén; d. 1789 Genoa (CJPP no. 1217/1298).

³⁶ B. 1728 Pina de Montalgrao (Valencia); d. 1779 Faenza (CJPP no. 176/1335).

³⁷ B. 1724 Asunción; d. 1779 Faenza (CJPP no. 772/1218).

³⁸ B. 1722 Salta; d. 1777 Faenza (CJPP no. 20/1226).

³⁹ B. 1717 La Guardia (Toledo); d. 1798, Ravenna (DHCJ Vol. 4, 3492; CJPP no. 1309/1181).

⁴⁰ B. 1729 La Rioja; d. 1816 Rome (CJPP no. 1039/1326).

⁴¹ B. 1725 Barcelona; d. 1781 Rome (CJPP 496/1263).

⁴² B. 1712 Teruel; d. 1788 Faenza (CJPP no. 865/1166).

⁴³ I could not locate a record of this priest.

⁴⁴ B. 1691 Madrid; d. 1770 Faenza (CJPP no. 990/904).

⁴⁵ B. 1702 Olvena (Huesca); d. 1794 Ravenna (CJPP no. 910/1081).

Jacinto Benedicto José Matilla. ⁴⁶	Physics - went to the missions. Replaced by
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo	Moral Theology
Cosme Antonio de la Cueva ⁴⁷	Scholastic Theology (Prime) - replaced
Juan de Rico, who left for Corrientes.	
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology (Vespers)
1763: 13 priests and 5 coadjutor brothers	
José Mas	Grammar
Jacinto Benedicto	First year of Philosophy - returned from the
missions in March.	
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo	Moral Theology
Cosme Antonio de la Cueva	Scholastic Theology (Prime)
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology (Vespers)
1764: 12 priests and 6 coadjutor brothers	
José Mas	Grammar - went to Paraguarí in September,
replaced by Francisco Burgués. ⁴⁸	
Jacinto Benedicto	Physics
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo	Moral Theology
Cosme Antonio de la Cueva	Scholastic Theology (Prime)
Carlos Aguirre	Scholastic Theology (Vespers)
1765: 14 priests and 7 brothers	
Alonso Hernandez ⁴⁹	Grammar – arrived from Córdoba in
February.	
Jacinto Benedicto	Metaphysics
Juan Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo	[Moral] Theology
Carlos Aguirre	[Scholastic] Theology
Francisco Legal:	[Scholastic] Theology

The movement of priests to and from the Guarani missions and the colonial centres of Asunción, Corrientes, Buenos Aires and Córdoba reflects the fluidity of the Jesuit network in the Rio de la Plata. The Jesuit college of Asunción supported the traditional missionary area but also served as the base for further activity. Jacinto Benedicto, who taught Grammar between 1758 and 1761, spent one year in the Guarani missions and then returned to Asunción to read Philosophy. José Sánchez Labrador read Philosophy in Córdoba between 1744 and 1746, then moved to the Guarani missions, taught Scholastic Theology during 1759 in Asunción, and finally requested to be sent to the Mbayá. Both of these examples also show the progression of Jesuit teaching careers. Jacinto Benedicto moved on

⁴⁶ B. 1716 Palazuelo (León); d. 1768 Paraguayan reductions (*CJPP* NO. 877/1277).

⁴⁷ B. 1725 Lastres (Oviedo); d. 1801 Oviedo (*CJPP* no. 369/1221).

⁴⁸ B. 1709 Pamplona; d. 1777 Faenza (*CJPP* no. 223/1044)

⁴⁹ B. 1734 Almendralejo; d. 1803 Ravenna (*CJPP* no. 677/1421).

from Grammar to teach three years of Philosophy; Sánchez Labrador moved from Philosophy to Moral Theology and finally to Scholastic Theology.

The outline of the Arts (Philosophy) programme could be surmised based on this information. Francisco Legal read three years of Philosophy, where the latter two were both Metaphysics (1758-1761). Francisco Ocampo read Logic, Philosophy and Metaphysics (1760-1762). Jacinto Benedicto read three years of Philosophy (1763-1765), where the latter two were Physics and Metaphysics, respectively. It therefore seems that the Arts programme at Asunción lasted three to four years, but the actual Philosophy curriculum is a subject beyond the scope of this thesis. A central concern of this chapter is the teaching of classical Latin – *gramática* or ‘grammar’ as it was usually called. This can be explored by a survey of the books held in the Jesuit library.

The Jesuit Library of Asunción

The reconstruction and in some cases recovery of Jesuit libraries began during the twentieth century. Based on inventories made at the time of the expulsion, scholars have developed increasingly complex methodologies to locate and identify volumes, publishing their findings along with studies of the institutions that housed them. Spain⁵⁰ and parts of South America have in this way been quite well documented, for instance the colleges of Maracaibo and colonial Venezuela⁵¹, and the universities of Córdoba⁵² and Bogotá.⁵³ History of libraries and the book have long been central to Jesuit intellectual history.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ See the bibliography in Julian Solana Pujalte ‘El fondo del siglo XVI de la biblioteca del antiguo colegio de Santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba’ *AHSI* 76 no. 151 (2007): 113-137; María V. Játiva Miralles, *La biblioteca de los jesuitas del colegio de San Esteban de Murcia*. PhD thesis (Murcia, 2007).

⁵¹ José del Rey Fajardo, ‘El archivo y biblioteca del Colegio jesuítico de Maracaibo, inventariado en la expulsión de 1767’, in *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 62 no. 247 (Caracas, 1979): 573-606; José del Rey Fajardo, *Las bibliotecas jesuíticas en la Venezuela colonial* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1999).

⁵² A. E. Fraschini et al., *Index Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Maximi Cordubensis Societatis Jesu Anno 1757. Edición crítica, filológica y bibliográfica* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2005).

⁵³ José del Rey Fajardo, *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá* (Venezuela: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2000).

⁵⁴ Kathleen Comerford, ‘Jesuits and Their Books: Libraries and Printing around the World’ in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 no. 2 (2015): 179 – 188; Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Floresta de*

The inventory of the Jesuit library of Asunción, published in 2006, has not yet been the object of analysis. The inventory, prepared by the priests Don Francisco Amancio González Escobar and Don Pedro Regalado de Almada in 1772, listed 4519 printed volumes (3713 books and 806 booklets), including the personal libraries of priests such as José Sánchez Labrador and over 200 manuscripts, many of them in Guaraní. Entries regularly included author, title, number of volumes held, volume size, place and date of publication, shelf number, and any additional notes.

The following table contains a list of classical texts and commentaries contained within the catalogue.

Table 2 – Classical texts and commentaries in the Jesuit Library of Asunción

Author	Title	Place of Publication	Year	Vols
Aesop ⁵⁵	Fábulas	N.p.	N.d.	23
Caesar, Fulvius Orsinus	Julii Caesaris omnia quae extant ex bibliotheca olim Fulvii Ursini	Strasbourg	1613	3
Cicero, Denis Lambyn, Denis Godefroy	Opera omnia quae exstant (4 tomes in 2 vols)	Geneva	1615	2
Cicero	Epistolae	Antwerp	N.d.	40
Cicero	Epistolae	Antwerp	N.d.	9
Claudian, Caspar von Barth, ed. ⁵⁶	Claudi[i] Claudiani Poetae praegloriosissimi Quae Exstant Caspar Barthius Recensuit, Et Animadversionum librum Adiecit	Hanau	1612	1
Claudian	Cl. Claudianus. Ex optimorum codicum fide [De Raptu Proserpina, carmina minora]	Amsterdam	1639	2

gramática, poética y retórica en Nueva España (1521-1767) (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980).

⁵⁵ On the complex diffusion of Aesop see Martin Davies, 'A Tale of Two Aesops', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 7 no. 3 (2006): 257-288.

⁵⁶ See Valéry Berlincourt, 'Commenting on Claudian's 'Political Poems', 1612/1650', in Karl A.E. Enenkel, *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries* [Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 29] (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 125-150.

Horace, Urbano Campos	Obras de Q. Horacio Flacco traducidas en prosa española, è ilustradas con argumentos, epitomes, y notas en el mismo idioma [Latin & Spanish]	Leon	1682	1
Horace	N.t.	Antwerp	1631(?)	1
Livy	Historiae Romanae principis. Libri omnes superstites	Frankfurt	1613	2
Livy	Epitome Librorum (?)	N.p.	N.d.	4
Phaedrus, Francisco Javier Idiáquez, S.J.	Fabulas de Fedro, liberto de Augusto. Traducidas de latin al castellano; e ilustradas con algunas notas para el uso de los principiantes en las Escuelas de Gramática de la Compañía de Jesus	Burgos	1755	9
Martial, Matthäus Rader S.J. ⁵⁷	Ad Valerii Marcialis epigrammaton Libros omnes	Ingolstadt	1611	2
Ovid, Jacob Pontanus, S.J. ⁵⁸	Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libris XV: Electorum libri totidem, ultimo integro. Ad eosdem noui commentarij, com sectionibus & argumentis	Antwerp	1618	1
Ovid, Jacob Pontanus, S.J.	In P. Ovidii Nasonis Poetarvm Ingeniosissimi, Tristivm, Et De Ponto Libros Novi Commentarii: Item Hortvli Ovidiani, id est, Sententiae Et Proverbia, Ex Qvotqvot Poetae Monvmentis Ab Eodem Conqvisita, In Locos Commvnes Redacta, Et Commentationibvs Explicata	Ingolstadt	1610	1
Ovid	Tristium libri quinque De Ponto	Antwerp (?)	1703(?)	28
Quintus Curtius Rufus	De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni	N.p.	N.d.	18
Quintus Curtius Rufus	De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni	N.p.	N.d.	1
Quintilian	M. Fabii Qvintiliani De institvtione oratoria libri XII. Eiusdem declamationum liber. Omnia accurata.	Lyon	1538	1

⁵⁷ Matthäus Rader (1561-1634) was an Austrian Jesuit whose expurgated Martial earned him the criticism of many, including John Donne; J.P. Sullivan, *Martial the Unexpected Classic: A Literary and Historical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 294.

⁵⁸ On Jacobus Pontanus (1542-1626) and his commentary of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* see Kathryn L. McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian heroine: metamorphoses commentaries, 1100-1618* (Leiden/Boston/Brill: 2001); Pierre Maréchaux, *Le poème et ses marges. Herméneutique, rhétorique et didactique dans les commentaires latins des "Métamorphoses" d'Ovide de la fin du moyen-âge à l'aube de l'époque classique*. PhD thesis (Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1992).

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (the Younger) Seneca, Marcus Annaeus (the Elder)	Senecæ philosophia opera (3 vols). [L. Annaei Senecae philosophi tomus primus continens Opuscula moralia... tomus secundus in quo Epistolae et quaestiones naturales... M. Annaei Senecae rhetoris Suasoriae ac controversiae cum declamationum excerptis: tomus tertius.]	Padua	1713	1
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (the Younger), Justus Lipsius	L. Annæi Senecæ philosophi. Opera, qvæ exstant omnia a Ivsto Lipsio emendata et scholijs illustrata	Antwerp	1615	1
Statius, Jan Bernaerts	Opera quae extant; Io. Bernartii ad P. Statii Papinii Thebaidos et Achilleidos scholia, ad sylvarum libros notae	Antwerp	1607	1
Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, Justus Lipsius	C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant. Iustus Lipsius postremum recensuit, additi commentarii aucti emendatque ab ultimâ manu ; accessit C. Velleius Paterculus cum eiusdem Lipsi auctoribus notis.	Antwerp	1607	1
Terence, Marc-Antoine Muret	Pvblîi Terentii Afri Comoediae sex	Barcelona	1621	1
Terence, Daniel Heinsius	Pub. Terentii Comoediae sex	Amsterdam	1631	3
Virgil, Donatus, Servius	P. Virgilii Maronis latinorum poetarum principis, bucolica, georgica, et aeneis doctissimis Seruij Honorati, & Aelij Donati, excellentium grammaticorum commentarijs illustrata, multoq[ue] nunc quàm antehac unquam castigatius excusa.	Basel	1544	1
Virgil, Juan Luis de la Cerde ⁵⁹	P. Virgilii Maronis Priores sex libri Aeneidos argumentis, explicationibus notis illustrati, auctore Joanne Ludouico de la Cerda Toletano societatis Jesu	Lyon	1612	1

⁵⁹ On the Virgil commentaries of Juan Luís de la Cerda (1558-1643) see Andrew Laird, 'Juan Luis de la Cerda and the Predicament of commentary' in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, eds. (Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill, 2002): 171-203; John Lloyd Roberts, *The Prolegomena of La Cerda's Commentary on Virgil: A commented edition from the Cologne 1652 imprint, with English translation and explanatory notes*. PhD thesis (University of Warwick, 2013).

Virgil, Juan Luis de la Cerda	P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica, argumentis, explicationibus, notis illustrata,	Lyon	1619	1
Virgil, Juan Luis de la Cerda	Opera Omnia (Vol. 1 Aeneidos, libri sex priores - Vol. 2. Aeneidos, libri sex posteriores)	Cologne	1642	1
Virgil, Juan Luis de la Cerda	Opera Omnia (Vol. 3. Bucolica et Georgica)	Cologne	1647	1
Virgil, José Petisco S.J., Francisco Javier Idiáquez, S.J.	P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneis, notis hispanicis illustrata a P. Josepho Petisco è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis	Villagarcía	1760	28
Virgil	N.t.	Antwerp	N.d.	1
Virgil	N.t.	Venice	1707(?)	10
Virgil, Diego López (trans.)	Obras completas de Publio Virgilio Marón. Tradvzido en prosa castellana por Diego López. Con comento, y anotaciones, donde se declaran las historias y fabulas, y el sentido de los versos dificultosos que tiene el poëta (Spanish)	Madrid	1641	1

Not included in this table are the library's Renaissance texts on humanist eloquence, such as Francesco Benci's *Orationes, et carmina cum disputatione de stilo et scriptione* (Cologne 1626), Erasmus' *De verborum copia commentarii* (no date) and Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiarum Latinae Libris Sex* (Antwerp, 1557).⁶⁰ Patristic literature composed another corpus of Latin literature not included in this table, because Jesuits did not use them to teach classical Latin: Lactantius (Lyon, 1561), Ambrose (Paris, 1642), Jerome (Paris, 1579) and Augustine of Hippo, including the *Confessions* (Antwerp, 1577 and Louvain, 1563), *Letters* (Antwerp, 1576), *De Trinitate* (Antwerp, 1576), *Adversus hereses* (Venice, 1584) and *De civitate dei* (Venice 1584, Lyon 1570).

Of the classical texts, as shown in this table, the library of Asunción held the most copies of Cicero's *Letters* (49), Ovid's *Tristia* (28), the 1760 edition of Virgil's *Aeneid* (28), Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander the Great* (18), Aesop's *Fables* (23), and the Latin version of fables by Phaedrus (9). The assumption here is that the library held several copies because these were intended

⁶⁰ On the circulation and influence of these works see Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

for use in the Grammar class, which we know usually numbered 20 students. However, the inventory provided full bibliographical details for only two of these texts: Virgil's *Aeneid*, illustrated with Spanish notes by Fr. José Petisco (1760), and the *Fables* of Phaedrus in a Latin and Spanish version by Francisco Javier Idiáquez (1755). Significantly, both of these were published as part of mid-eighteenth century reforms at Villagarcía (Spain).

Asunción and the Neo-Classical Turn at the College of Villagarcía c. 1755-1767

Reforms of classical studies in Spain are usually associated with the figures of José Finestres (1688-1777) at the University of Cervera, and Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (1699-1781) at Valencia.⁶¹ Another site of eighteenth century Jesuit humanism was centred around the influential José Rafael Campoy (1723-1777) in New Spain. As a student, Campoy had already achieved notoriety for preferring to read the original texts of Aristotle and Aquinas rather than commentaries. Campoy inspired a generation of Mexican Jesuits, including Francisco Javier Alegre, Diego José Abad, Francisco Javier Clavigero and Rafael Landívar – all Jesuits who later in exile produced the most well-known corpus of Latin literature by Spanish Americans. They had also implemented a series of educational reforms in the 1750s in New Spain. Alegre opened his grammar class at the College of San Ildefonso in 1751 by criticising the current state of oratory. In 1753, Clavigero could be found at the centre of a circle of Jesuits interested in physics and mathematics. Indeed, his ideas of reform in philosophy, history and oratory reached the highest levels of the Jesuit order, so that in 1763 the superior general Lorenzo Ricci adopted some of the recommendations of the Jesuits from New Spain and established additional courses (as academies outside of universities) of mathematics, physics, chemistry, modern languages, Greek, history and geography.⁶²

⁶¹ See for instance Miguel Batllori, *Evolución pedagógica de la Universidad de Cervera en el siglo XVIII* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1984).

⁶² Enrique Villalba Pérez, *Consecuencias educativas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de América* [Biblioteca del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad 8] (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid/Dykinson, 2003), 31-33; Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, 'Tensión en

The example of Mexico in particular stimulated improvements in classical learning in Córdoba, as discussed in Chapter 1. Likewise, the reforms of Cervera were felt in the Río de la Plata through the presence of Jesuits who had been formed in its classrooms, such as Peramás. However, equally as important were the effects of yet another reform movement that originated in Spain, led by Francisco Javier Idiáquez (1711-1790).⁶³ First as rector of the college of Burgos (1752-1755) and later of Villagarcía (1756-1762), Idiáquez set up a printing press to produce textbooks, works of lexicography, and editions of classical authors for students.⁶⁴ Phaedrus' *Fables* appeared in 1755, followed by editions of Cornelius Nepos⁶⁵, Ovid⁶⁶, Cicero⁶⁷, Horace⁶⁸ and Virgil.⁶⁹ An edition of Curtius⁷⁰ was published in 1759. It is therefore possible that the eighteen copies of Curtius listed in the inventory of Asunción refer to the 1759 Villagarcía edition. In his programme of studies, Idiáquez also announced his plan to publish editions of Sallust and Caesar, but I have not been able to locate these.⁷¹

la Torre de Marfil: la educación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII mexicano', in Josefina Zoraida Vázquez et al., *Ensayos sobre Historia de la Educación en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1985 [1981]), 43-45.

⁶³ *DHCJ* Vol. 2, 1990-1991.

⁶⁴ For a comprehensive study on Villagarcía see Conrado Pérez Picón, *Un colegio ejemplar de Letras Humanas en Villagarcía de Campos (1578-1767)* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas/Excma. Diputación Provincial de Valladolid, 1983).

⁶⁵ Francisco Javier Idiáquez, *Cornelius Nepos De vitis excellentium imperatorum breviariis, et notis Hispanicis illustratus a P. Francisco Xaverio de Idiaquez Soc. Jesu ad usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758).

⁶⁶ Juan Andrés Navarrete, S.J., *P. Ovidii Nasonis De Ponto libri IV argumentis, et notis hispanicis illustrati A. P. Joanne Andrea Navarrete è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758). An edition of *Tristia* Book V appeared in 1759. A copy of a 1766 reimpression is currently located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina (Buenos Aires).

⁶⁷ José Petisco, S.J., *M.T. Ciceronis Orationes selectae argumentis et notis Hispanicis illustratae a P. Josepho Petisco è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758). A second volume appeared in 1760.

⁶⁸ Joseph de Jouvancy, S.J., *Q. Horatii Flacci De arte poetica liber cum notis, ac perpetua interpretatione P. Josephi Juvencii è Societate Jesu* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758).

⁶⁹ José Petisco, S.J., *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica notis hispanicis illustrata ab Josepho Petisco è Societate Jesu; in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758); José Petisco, S.J., *P. Virgilii Maronis Georgica notis Hispanicis illustrata a P. Josepho Petisco è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1759).

⁷⁰ Raymundo Aguirre, S.J., *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni: libri VIII Breviariis, ac notis Hispanicis illustrati, cum locupletissimo indice Urbium omnium, Regionum, Fluminum &c., quae apud Auctorem frequenter occurrunt* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1759).

⁷¹ Francisco Javier Idiáquez, S.J., *Prácticas e industrias para promover las letras humanas, con un apéndice donde se examina el método del Sr. Pluche para enseñar, y aprender la Lengua Latina, y Griega* (Villagarcía: Imprenta del Seminario, 1758), 42.

The importance of these textbooks in Spanish America is attested by none other than Peramás himself, who in 1791 dedicated his *De vita et moribus sex paraguaycorum* to Idiáquez (who had died the previous year in Bologna):

The more serious studies of Philosophy and Theology you [Idiáquez] have assiduously promoted. The arts you rendered more enjoyable and much easier for its students, wisely procuring compendiums and new editions of books in Latin and Greek which penetrated even into our Paraguay.⁷²

In addition to textbooks, Francisco Javier Idiáquez published a teaching manual, *Prácticas e industrias para promover las letras humanas* ('Practices and techniques to promote human letters', 1758). In this work Idiáquez referred to the precepts of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which was the main Jesuit handbook on teaching. In what follows the two Jesuit treatises will be used to determine the place of the classical authors mentioned in the library of Asunción in the Jesuit Grammar curriculum.

The library of Asunción possessed two copies of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which outlined the classical authors to be read at each stage, though these were subject to change according to the circumstances of each college. Based on the 1548 blueprint for the college of Messina by Jerónimo Nadal, the definitive *Ratio* had proposed a compatibility between humanism and scholasticism, enshrined in the progression from Grammar and Rhetoric to the disciplines of Philosophy and Theology.⁷³ Grammar appeared as part of the *studia inferiora* (lower department), comprised originally of five classes: three Grammar classes, Humanities, and Rhetoric. This varied depending if a college offered a three, four or five-year programme. For example, Humanities might be the highest class in a three-year programme.⁷⁴ The Grammar teacher was instructed to begin each lesson with a *prælectio*, an explanation of grammar or authors. In addition students underwent a system that included memorising and translating texts, compositions, written

⁷² Peramás, *De vita et moribus sex paraguaycorum*, p. xvi: '*Studia severiora Philosophiae, & Theologiae enixe promovisti: amoeniores idem artes reddidisti earum cultoribus multo faciliores, quae sitis sapienter compendiis, editisque novis libris qua latinis, qua graecis, qui ad mediam usque Paraguayam nostram penetrarunt.*'

⁷³ Allan P. Farrell, trans., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970).

⁷⁴ *Ratio*, Rules of the Prefect of Lower Studies, no. 8.5-8.7.

examinations and contests. Francisco Javier Idiáquez repeated the injunctions of the *Ratio* in his *Prácticas e industrias* of 1758, indicating however that the rules of Humanities should be applied to the highest Grammar class, since the Province of Castile did not offer a separate Humanities year.⁷⁵

The *Ratio* authorised teachers to use the vernacular to explain passages and assign homework, but ‘the practice of speaking Latin must be strictly observed except in the case of classes in which pupils know no Latin’.⁷⁶ The *Ratio* therefore already opened up the possibility of using the vernacular in the classroom, so it is likely that the lower level classes in Asunción were taught in Spanish. The grammars of the Jesuit school will be discussed in more detail below, particularly in their use of Spanish to demonstrate Latin grammar rules.

Regarding classical authors, the rules for teachers of the *studia inferiora* in the *Ratio* show that Cicero dominated. Even at the lowest level the *proelectio* should cover ‘only the easiest letters of Cicero, [which should be] carefully selected . . . and, if possible, separately printed.’⁷⁷ The middle grammar teacher (second class) was advised to use ‘for prelections only Cicero’s *Epistolae Ad Familiares* and the simplest poems of Ovid.’⁷⁸ The rules for the teacher of the highest grammar class (third class), divided readings into prose and poetry over two semesters. In the first semester students were to read the prose letters of Cicero (*Ad Familiares*, *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*) and ‘expurgated elegies and epistles of Ovid’, referring to the *Tristia* and *Epistulae Ex Ponto*. The second semester would be devoted to more of Cicero (*De Amicitia*, *De senectute*, etc.) and selections from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Virgil, including Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the ‘easier Virgil’ of *Georgics* Book IV and *Aeneid* Book V and Book VII.⁷⁹

Aside from Virgil, the inventory of the library of Asunción makes no mention of poets mentioned in the *Ratio* for the highest grammar class. However, this information may be incomplete, since many volumes were lost between the expulsion of 1767 and the drafting of the inventory in 1772. With our current

⁷⁵ Idiáquez, *Prácticas e industrias*, 34-35.

⁷⁶ *Ratio*, Common Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes, no. 18 and no. 27.

⁷⁷ *Ratio*, Rules of the teacher of the lowest class, no. 1.

⁷⁸ *Ratio*, Rules of the teacher of the middle grammar class, no. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ratio*, Rules of the teacher of the highest grammar class, no. 1.

knowledge, one may conjecture that students in Asunción began with select letters of Cicero and Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, and then moved on to Virgil's *Aeneid*. Additionally, the complete collection of Juan Luis de la Cerda's commentaries on Virgil and Jacobus Pontanus on Ovid were available in the library for consultation.

Horace appeared in the *Ratio* as part of the poetry programme of the year of Humanities (fourth class of the *studia inferiora*), along with Virgil, 'except some eclogues and Aeneid IV.' The *Ratio* stated that Humanities students should also read history: Quintus Curtius Rufus, Caesar, Sallust and Livy. Cicero's philosophical and moral treatises 'on living a good life' came highly recommended.⁸⁰ An introduction to the rules of rhetoric would complete the year of Humanities, which more than the previous ones seems specifically geared towards the humanist ideal of creating good citizens. Since the Jesuit Province of Castile did not have a year of Humanities, it is likely that neither did the Province of Paraguay, so Curtius may have been reserved for the more advanced Grammar students at Asunción.

In his *Prácticas e industrias* Francisco Javier Idiáquez quoted verbatim the rules of the grammar classes and adopted the same classical authors. Exceptions are Virgil's *Georgics*, which he labelled 'too difficult' for the middle grammar class. For the upper grammar class he recommended reading selections of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, which would complement the emphasis on verse composition at that stage. He also added Nepos and Phaedrus to the list of classical authors. Cornelius Nepos, stated Idiáquez, had been greatly praised by one of the most respected scholars of his age (and also a Jesuit), Joseph de Jouvancy, in his *Ratione discendi et docendi* (1692).⁸¹ Moreover, the short biographies of Nepos were more manageable than the long *History of Alexander* by Quintus Curtius Rufus, although Idiáquez added that time spent on Curtius was time well spent. With these credentials then Nepos was introduced into the

⁸⁰ Ratio, Rules of the teacher of Humanities, no. 1.

⁸¹ Idiáquez, *Prácticas e industrias*, 26-27. On Joseph de Jouvancy, S.J. (1643-1719), see François Dainville, "Le Ratio discendi et docendi de Jouvancy" *AHSI* 20 (1951), 3-58; César Chaparro Gómez, 'Del *De ratione discendi et docendi* de Jouvancy a las *Prácticas e Industrias* de Idiáquez: los avatares de la Ratio studiorum jesuita' in *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 34 no. 2 (2014): 315-336.

Villagarcía course, to be read alongside or instead of Curtius. Regarding reading Aesop, Idiáquez believed it was preferable to read the Latin version by Phaedrus in the lower (Latin) Grammar class:

Aesop's fables were translated from the Greek by many authors who are far from being of the golden age [of Latin literature]. But those of Phaedrus, the freedman of Augustus, are the very purity, candour and flower of Latinity. See the edition we published in Burgos. From experience, there is no doubt that Phaedrus is very good for children. I know a boy at Villagarcía who memorised the five books of Phaedrus in less than four months.⁸²

Although Jesuits tended to stress teaching Latin more than Greek, the press at Villagarcía also produced a Greek grammar by the Hellenist José Petisco (1724-1800), and a textbook, the *Opuscula Graeca ad usum Seminarii* (1761).⁸³ One copy of the latter appeared in the Jesuit library of Asunción. The *Opuscula*, a collective endeavour by several Villagarcía professors, took the reader through progressively more difficult texts: (I) the easier Greek fables of Aesop, with Spanish explanations by Juan Andrés Navarrete; (II) Anacreontic odes with Spanish notes by José Petisco; (III) a letter of Saint Basil in Greek with Latin translation; (IV) the *Batrachomyomachia* (attributed to Homer) in Greek with facing Latin; (V) Demosthenes' *First Philippic*, with introductory comments and Latin translation according to the version of Joseph de Jouvancy. The first two parts were heavy with Spanish explanation of the texts and seemed to work in conjunction with a grammar (most likely the grammar of Petisco), which is often referenced for the student to consult. The book assumed knowledge of Latin for the second part of the text. Between Part III and IV a few pages provided essential prayers in Latin and Greek: grace before and after meals, plus the Ten Commandments.

⁸² Idiáquez, *Prácticas e industrias*, 21-22.

⁸³ José Petisco, *Gramatica griega* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1758); José Petisco, Juan Andrés Navarrete, Joseph de Jouvancy, *Opuscula graeca ad usum Seminarii Villagarsiensis* (Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii, 1761). Francisco Javier Alegre and Francisco Javier Clavijero spearheaded an interest in Greek in New Spain. See Arnold Kerson, 'Francisco Javier Alegre. A Mexican Latinist of the Eighteenth Century' in *Noua tellus* 6 (1988): 221-233.

‘Baroque’ Latin Grammars and the teaching methods of Idiáquez

Aside from classical texts and textbooks, grammars functioned as important vehicles of Latin learning. According to the library inventory of the Jesuit college of Asunción, the library possessed 334 (anonymous) grammar textbooks and 53 copies of the *Arte* of Nebrija (no date). Most likely, the latter were copies of Nebrija’s *De institutione grammatica* (1481) as reformed by Juan Luis de la Cerda, which a Royal Cédula of 1598 had proclaimed as the official textbook to learn Latin.⁸⁴ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the *Arte* prompted many spin-off grammars, such as two other grammars also held at the library: 27 copies of Tomás García Olarte’s *Observaciones selectas de los modos de oraciones latinas* (Madrid 1755), and 11 copies of Ignacio del Campo’s *Gramática lacónica*, ‘an epitome to learn with the greatest brevity how to compose and construct perfectly in Latin, without need of any other books’ (Madrid 1744).⁸⁵ A copy of the latter was listed in the inventory as belonging to the private collection of José Sánchez Labrador.

A few examples illustrate the contrast between the projected reforms of Idiáquez and the precepts found in these earlier grammars. In the preface of his *Observaciones selectas*, the Jesuit Tomás García de Olarte (pseudonym for Juan García de Vargas) explained that the two ends of studying languages are ‘one, to understand it; the other to know how to use it properly’. The reader was told that ‘you will here find brief necessary rules, not only for the comprehension of Latin authors but also the correct use of Latin, for the precepts of the *Arte* do not suffice to reach perfection.’⁸⁶ However, as Javier Espino Martín observed, the main feature of García de Olarte’s grammar is a reliance on Spanish, much more so than his model De la Cerda. García de Olarte often began with a syntax of Spanish, resulting in complicated and obscure explanations of Latin which make

⁸⁴ See Maria Dolores Martínez Gavilán, ‘Racionalismo y tradición escolar en el Arte de Nebrija reformado por el P. Juan Luis de la Cerda’ in *Península, Revista de Estudios Ibéricos* 4 (2007): 327-346.

⁸⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of these two ‘baroque’ grammars see Javier Espino Martín, *Evolución de la enseñanza gramatical jesuítica en el contexto socio-cultural español entre los siglos XVI y primera mitad del*

⁸⁶ Originally published in Valladolid in 1705, references are from the 1725 edition: Tomás García de Olarte, *Observaciones selectas de los modos de oraciones latinas, conforme se enseñan en los estudios de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Por la Viuda de Juan García Infanzon, 1725).

his grammar one of the most ‘baroque’ manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Below is a particularly convoluted example of an explanation of the use of verbs that express fear:

Verbs that signify fear or mistrust are followed in the romance with *No*: *No sea que*: *Que no*: *Que*: *De que*; and the principal persons of the determinant and determined verbs are different; in that case the determined verb is not put in the infinitive, but only in the subjunctive tense that corresponds, with the particle *Ne* when in fear or when that which is not desired is not feared. Example: *Temia no te azotassen*: *Timebam, ne vapulares*. But if in fear, or if that which is desired is not feared, one should use *Ut* or *Ne non*. Example: *No te receles de que el Maestro perdonò tu culpa*: *Ne verearis, ut* (or) *ne non Magister condonaverit culpam tuam*. But if the same person determines both verbs, then one can also use the infinitive. Example: *Temerè, no sea que cayga en pecado*: *Timebo, ne cadam in peccatu*, (or) *timebo cadere in peccatum*.⁸⁸

However, it seems that these sample sentences are Garcia de Olarte’s own invention, for to his credit he added notes at the end of the work with examples drawn from classical authors, in this case, Cicero:

Note 24: Cic[ero] Pro Flac[co]. Nec metuas, ne sibi aliquid, quod ipse nolit respondeat. Pro Deiot[aro]. Non enim iam metuo, ne tu illi succenseas. Pro Mil[one]. Nec timet, ne cum plebem muneribus placarit vos non conciliarit meritis in Rempubicam singularibus [sic].

In the preface of his 1750 edition, Ignacio del Campo boasted that *caballeros* learned to compose in Latin merely by studying his grammar at public evening classes. In contrast to García de Olarte’s grammar, the main audience of Ignacio del Campo’s *Gramática Lacónica* were not schoolchildren but rather grown men attached to the court at Madrid: ‘Seeing that among so many learned masters not one has provided consolation to those who find themselves beyond youth, in particular at this Court, and moved by many clamours I have taken up the pen to summarise the precepts of grammar.’ For a more comprehensive grammar he referred to his *Gramática de Cicerón* (1722). Of interest is that Campo stated that the study of grammar was in fact more appropriate for adults: ‘experience attests this, [and] discerning masters know that one method does not suit everyone the

⁸⁷ Espino Martín, *Evolución de la enseñanza gramatical jesuítica*, 372-379.

⁸⁸ Garcia Olarte, *Observaciones Selectas*, 32-33.

same, and because of the diversity of abilities (*genios*) they do not all result in being equally instructed . . .’⁸⁹

The *Gramática Lacónica* lives up to its name. For example, the explanation of verbs of fear received brief treatment when compared to García de Olarte:

The explanation of Verbs of fear or mistrust are governed by the subjunctive with *Ut*, or *Nenon*, if that which the verb determines is wished; if not wished, with *Ne*. Example: *Teme no amar à Dios: Time, ne Deum haud ames: Caveo, es* is applicable to any particle . . . Example: *Cave, haud Deum ames.*⁹⁰

Like García de Olarte, Campo’s prescriptions for syntax are based on Spanish. For instance, in explaining how to construct sentences with *sum* (the first person singular form of the present tense of Latin *esse*, ‘to be’), Ignacio del Campo proposed Latin sentences based on Spanish examples:

Sentences with *sum* have the nomin[ative]. first, then the verb *Sum* in agreement with the nomin., and another nomin. in the num. in which it sounds; if it is a substantive, but if it is an adj., it is in agreement with the first. Example: *Dios es bueno: Deus es bonus* [sic]. The same is true of [*ha*] *de*, adding the fut. –rus. Example: *Dios ha de ser mis delicias: Deus futurus est delitiae meae.*⁹¹

As rector of Villagarcía, Francisco Javier Idiáquez insisted on using La Cerda rather than other condensed versions of Nebrija’s *Arte*. He also questioned the pedagogical value of translating Spanish sentences into Latin. Worse still, students devising their own sentences could come up with awkward or ridiculous statements:

The teacher should dictate sentences for translation, for it is a most terrible custom to allow children to form sentences in Spanish which they are to translate; thus a boy produces ‘*Los bancos se comieron a los bueies*’ (‘the benches eat the oxen’), and in Latin, ‘*Subsellia manducaverunt boves.*’⁹²

⁸⁹ Ignacio del Campo, *Gramática Lacónica Latina, epítome para aprender con suma brevedad à componer, y construir perfectamente Latin, sin necesidad de otro libro* (Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez, 1750 [1732]).

⁹⁰ Campo, *Gramática Lacónica*, 35.

⁹¹ Ibid., 29.

⁹² Idiáquez, *Prácticas e industrias*, 17.

In his reforming programme Idiáquez proposed that classical texts should be used as the basis for translation activities, in opposition to the kinds of sentences found in contemporary grammars. Even students at the lowest levels who were working on their first lines of Cicero, argued Idiáquez, should be exposed to classical authors. First, students could be given brief sentences in Spanish to translate, such as: *Julio César escribió comentarios mui latinos: Virgilio, que escribió las glorias de Eneas, compuso un poema, que vence a todas las poesías*: ‘Julius Caesar wrote very “Latin” commentaries; Virgil, who wrote of the glories of Aeneas, composed a poem that surpasses all poems.’ Then the teacher could briefly explain the work of Caesar and the plot of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. The result was an introduction to the works, style and culture of Roman authors:

With this the boy knows that Julius Caesar was a writer, what a commentary is, and that Caesar's style was very ‘Latin’; that there was a Virgil, an Aeneas, a work called the Aeneid, and that this work is the best of all poems. Certainly this is more conducive to learning than benches that eat oxen.⁹³

In addition, for students of the upper grammar class, who had already worked through the five books of the *Arte* of De la Cerda, Idiáquez recommended teaching verse composition by means of classical texts. The three exercises he outlined in his *Prácticas e industrias* seem remarkably similar to some techniques used in foreign-language teaching today. Using the first two lines of Ovid’s *Tristia*, Idiáquez demonstrated the first exercise, where students are given scrambled verses, called ‘versos desatados’. The teacher would mark the corresponding quantities (syllable lengths) on top of each syllable. The students would then be encouraged to put the words together until they arrived at the original Ovidian couplet:

Scrambled:

Ibis sine me (nec invideo) parve liber in urbem.
Cur hei mihi Domino tuo non licet ire!

Original text and desired end result:

Parve (nec invideo) sine me liber ibis in urbem.
Hei mihi cur Domino non licet ire tuo!⁹⁴

⁹³ Ibid., 18.

⁹⁴ Ov. *Tr.* 1.1-2: ‘Little book (I don’t begrudge it) go into the city without me, for alas your master is not allowed to go!’

A second technique, once students were used to unscrambling verses, was to dictate sentences without giving syllable quantities. Students would be told to look for these in prosodies or ‘Diccionarios poéticos’. Finally, for additional difficulty, the teacher could change one word in each scrambled line, and instruct students to replace these with synonyms. The student who got it first would receive a prize.⁹⁵ The example Idiáquez used was again from Ovid’s *Tristia*:

Scrambled, with replaced words underlined:

Quid libelli, infelix negotium, mihi vobiscum?
Qui ipse meo ingenio infortunatus perii.

Original text and desired end result:

Quid mihi vobiscum, infelix cura, libelli?
Ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo.⁹⁶

The techniques suggested by Idiáquez were intended to guide students as they gradually absorbed Ovidian phraseology and style, ultimately to encourage them to compose poetry in the style of Ovid. This is quite different from the kind of prescriptive rules in the grammars of García de Olarte and Ignacio del Campo, who merely reproduced and summarised the rules of quantities from the fifth book of La Cerda’s edition of Nebrija’s *Arte*. Idiáquez also indicated that students at Villagarcía should work their way through the *Arte*, but as shown above, this was to be complemented with exercises based on classical texts.

The neo-classical turn at Villagarcía in the 1750s emphasised returning to the original spirit of the *Ratio*. The presence of Villagarcía publications at the college of Asunción is indicative of a programme of renewal of classical learning that spread within the Jesuit provinces of Spain and its territories in the mid-eighteenth century. Asunción would have received the Villagarcía editions in the early 1760s, though perhaps too late to make much of an impact. Three copies of José Manuel Peramás’ *Laudationes Quinque* made their way to the library of Asunción in 1766, encapsulating the aspiration to achieve a higher level of

⁹⁵ Idiáquez, *Prácticas e industrias*, 29-33.

⁹⁶ Ov. *Tr* 2.1-2: ‘What are you to me, my books, unfortunate labour? A wretch, I am ruined by my own talent.’

classical learning. Any creole ambitions however, like the reforms of Idiáquez in Villagarcía, were cut short with the expulsion. The next florescence of Jesuit Latinity would be played out in exile literature rather than classrooms.

After 1767: Bourbon Reforms at the University of Córdoba

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 changed the educational environment in the Rio de la Plata. Jesuit scholarly and intellectual activity in the Province of Paraguay came to a sudden end, as did the fluid Jesuit network that had united missions and colleges. After 1767 Asunción would have to rely on Córdoba as the main centre of university learning, increasing the dependence which the creation of the Jesuit College of Asunción had sought to minimise in the first place. Records from the Archive of Asunción in the 1770s and 1780s reveal a desire for autonomy in education, while the distinction afforded by a Córdoba degree remained a source of pride for those who could afford to attend university there. One of these was José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, who studied theology at Córdoba between 1781 and 1785, at the height of academic and institutional reforms. This section will examine some of the reforms at Córdoba to help illustrate the state of classical learning in post-Jesuit Asunción. Overall, reforms at Córdoba and Asunción sought to rectify Jesuit ‘abuses’ and introduced an eclectic philosophy with a strong royalist character.

Reforms at Córdoba took place at institutional and academic levels. The expulsion decree stipulated that no religious orders could take over Jesuit universities and colleges. However, claiming that the secular clergy had been trained and thus corrupted by Jesuits, the Bishop of Tucumán Don Manuel Abad Illana requested the governor Francisco de Bucarelli to place the Franciscans in charge of the university. The period traditionally known as the ‘Franciscan Regency’ (1767-1807) was characterised by a struggle between the regular orders (Franciscan and Dominicans) with the secular clergy over jurisdiction of the university. Moreover, according to Silvano Benito Moya, the French Revolution divided the Bourbon reforms at Córdoba into two periods (1767-1789 and 1789-1810). The first period saw an opening towards the sciences and new modes of

thinking, with Philosophy professors teaching Cartesian rationalism and experimental physics. The French Revolution marked a shift in attitude by the Bourbons, with a tighter control of higher education.⁹⁷

With a special focus on Physics and Philosophy, Moya argued that rationalist philosophers (Descartes, Gassendi, Leibniz and Malebranche) and the physics (Newton, Kepler and Nollet), were incorporated and ‘if not always understood they were somehow assimilated.’⁹⁸ For Moya the Franciscan Regency was a period of intellectual transition and moderate, eclectic brand of scholasticism. A comment from Friar Elias del Carmen, professor of Arts and Philosophy between 1781 and 1800, is illustrative. His Physics course of 1784 included the recommendation that ‘there should be a useful and abundant provision of the scholastics Saint Bonaventure and Alejandro de Hales, and Saint Thomas, [as well] as Leibniz, who has many useful things.’⁹⁹

Innovations however were not an exclusive feature of the Franciscan Regency. As early as 1732 the Jesuit Superior General had warned Córdoba professors against the ‘excessive liberty of opinion of some of the teachers, most of all those who teach the principles and constitutions of the natural body and who abandon the doctrine of Aristotle to follow the atomists.’¹⁰⁰ Guillermo Furlong was the first to argue convincingly that innovations in Córdoba’s curriculum had already taken place under the Jesuits.¹⁰¹ Moya followed Furlong’s method of unearthing student theses and framing their analysis within a narrative of institutional reforms at Córdoba, remarking on the study of Newton under the Jesuits in Córdoba at a time when Newton was not widely read in Europe.¹⁰²

The scholasticism associated with the Jesuits later earned them the criticism of Dean Gregorio Funes (1749-1829), who had studied under the Jesuits

⁹⁷ Silvano Benito Moya, *Reformismo e Ilustración. Los Borbones en la Universidad de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Centro de Estudios Históricos “Prof. Carlos S.A. Segreti”, 2000), 42-51.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁹ Alfredo Pueyrredón, ‘Algunos aspectos de la enseñanza en la Universidad de Córdoba durante la Regencia Franciscana’ in *Cuaderno de Historia* 24 (1953): 18-19.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰¹ Guillermo Furlong, *Nacimiento y desarrollo de la filosofía en el Río de la Plata, 1536-1810* (Buenos Aires: Kraft, 1952).

¹⁰² Moya, *Reformismo e Ilustración*, 21-24. A similar trend in New Spain has been the subject of numerous studies. Cf. Bernabé Navarro, *La introducción de la filosofía moderna en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1948); Mauricio Beuchot, *Historia de la filosofía en el México colonial* (Barcelona: Herder, 1997).

and was to become one of the leading intellectual figures in the early national history of Argentina. However Funes also recalled that a certain spirit of reform characterised the last years of the Jesuit period at Córdoba, noting that improvements in literature were taking place and that authors such as Peramás had already rejected the extremes of scholasticism:

It is true that under a plan devoid of method, a taste for the useless abstractions of scholasticism, these colleges resembled a grotesque pagoda; but the dawn of letters was already beginning to dispel the shadows and make them reject the odious forms in which these studies were presented. Few would willingly submit to the yoke of old concerns anymore, and many were formed for the glory of letters, such as [Domingo] Muriel, [José Manuel] Peramás, [Joaquín] Camaño, [Francisco Javier] Iturri and [Gaspar] Juárez.¹⁰³

These calls for improvement in classical learning in the 1750s, framed within a wider programme of reform of Jesuit education, were not unwarranted. Benito Moya has noted the numerous comments on the decadence of Latin in Córdoba throughout the eighteenth century, complaining that (as a historian) it is hard to read students' notes because of the abundance of hispanisms, spelling mistakes and awkward syntax. Moya also pointed to the repeated orders for Jesuits to dictate in Latin, which is indicative of the pervasiveness of the vernacular even in the Philosophy and Theology classrooms where students were supposed to be proficient in Latin.¹⁰⁴

During the Franciscan Regency the practice of dictation definitely succumbed to a preference for explanations. In the constitutions of 1783-1784, which replaced the constitutions of the Jesuit Andrés Rada which had been untouched since 1664, the Bishop José Antonio de San Alberto included a clause suppressing dictation. By the 1780s therefore – the time when José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia studied at Córdoba – Latin had lost its status as a spoken academic language. This was the case in other Spanish American universities as well.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Gregorio Funes, *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay, Buenos-Ayres y Tucumán* vol. 2. (Buenos Aires: 1816), 168.

¹⁰⁴ Moya, *Reformismo e Ilustración*, 159-165.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. John Tate Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), 29-33.

At Córdoba creoles cooperated in a programme destined to strengthen crown interests, which also affirmed their own position.¹⁰⁶ The defence of crown prerogatives was most clearly articulated by students of the faculty of Law (established in 1790) during the second period of reforms. The thesis of a first-year Law student, Jerónimo de Salguero y Cabrera (1774-1847), defended twenty-two points of law that ‘rectified the Jesuit school’. Salguero, who would later be involved in the independence revolution, took his main theme from the *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani* (1682) of the influential French bishop and orator Jacques Bossuet:

It is right for theologians and Christians to defend royal rights, not for the sake of royal rights but as mandates of Christ, which give order to the republic and the rule of peace, so that in the future the authority of the Church, once it is free of discord, would better serve God. We do not think it right that under the banner of religion kingdoms be ruined, for religion should serve as their guardian.¹⁰⁷

Like Bossuet, Salguero advocated absolutist principles. For instance, Salguero argued that there was no higher authority than the king in temporal matters (article 2); that the sword should protect religion and curb clerical abuse when necessary (article 3); that if ecclesiastical courts abused of their prerogatives, Spanish law had long allowed a recourse to force (*recurso de fuerza*) (article 4); that in times of emergency the king could call for contributions from the clergy without having to consult Rome (article 6); and that any ecclesiastical exemptions and privileges of Canon Law came not from the Pontiff but from the graciousness of kings

¹⁰⁶ María Christina Vera de Flachs ‘La Universidad como factor de ascenso a la élite de poder en América Hispana. El caso Córdoba’ in M. Peset y S. Albiña, eds., *Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Americanas y Españolas, Claustros y estudiantes*. (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia), 399-426.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Peña, 25-26. The reference given by Peña (*Defensio*, Book 6 Chapter 9) is incorrect. The correct reference is Book 4 Chapter 19. Cf. Boussuet, *Oeuvres Completes* Vol. 21 (1879), 527-528: ‘*Neque dedecori ducimus quod theologi christianique jura regia defendimus, non tàm ut jura regia, quàm ut Christi placita; Christi, inquam, placita, rempublicam ordinantis, tranquillantis imperium, ut Ecclesia in imperio futura, jam à seditionibus libera, meliùs Deo serviat: nec placet, religionis specie, regna pessumdari, quibus religio tutelae esse debeat.*’ The mistaken reference was either an error by Salguero himself or one that occurred at the point of transcription. The former is possible because Silvano Benito Moya has given the same erroneous reference as Peña on consulting the manuscript; Silvano Benito Moya, ‘La cultura teológica de las élites letradas, ¿especulación teórica o pragmatismo en el Tucumán del siglo XVIII?’ *Hispania Sacra* 65 (2013): 309-359.

(article 7).¹⁰⁸ Moreover, article 5 (against regicide) may have reflected Bourbon anxiety at the French Revolution's toppling of the social order, an anxiety shared by creoles. At the same time the assertion of absolutist ideas was a move to break with Jesuit political thought. For instance, Francisco Suárez (1548-1617), one of the leading Jesuit philosophers, had justified 'tyrannicide' in the case of self-defence.¹⁰⁹ By the eighteenth century Jesuits had become associated with the theory of regicide, which students at Córdoba zealously strove to refute. It therefore seems that the creole elite identified with the crown's interest in cutting down the influence of the clergy.

Since the Jesuit era, the College of Monserrat had offered a scholarship to a student from Paraguay. This practice continued under the Franciscans. A degree from Córdoba was greatly respected and gave access to public posts. For instance, after studying at Córdoba, Pedro Vicente Cañete worked as a lawyer for the *Audiencia* of Charcas and also as an informal legal advisor to Pedro Melo de Portugal, who explained in 1784 that 'there is no other [in Asunción] of the legal profession.'¹¹⁰ Professors of the *Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos*, founded with the remains of the Jesuit College of Asunción, were also Córdoba graduates, most notably Francisco Javier Bogarín and José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia. The latter studied in Córdoba between 1781 and 1785 and obtained a chair of theology in 1787 at San Carlos, though he resigned a year later to work as a lawyer.

The *Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos* opened its doors on 12 April 1783. On 2 May eight students (out of ten who had applied) passed the entrance exam.¹¹¹ It functioned regularly until 1810, when the seminary was converted into barracks in preparation for the military expedition sent by revolutionaries in Buenos Aires. The faculty of Grammar reopened in 1812 under a young Don Carlos Antonio López, the future president of Paraguay after the death of Francia

¹⁰⁸ Roberto Peña, 'Conclusiones Jurídicas defendidas en la Universidad de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII' in *Cuaderno de Historia* 17 (Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1952).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Suárez, *Defensio Fidei* 6.4.

¹¹⁰ ANA SH Vol. 148 No. 10: Correspondencias del gobernador (1784).

¹¹¹ ANA NE Vol. 129. The names of the eight students were: Rafael Tullo, José Joaquín de Ayala, Manuel Corvalán, Sebastián Antonio Martínez Sáenz, Juan Antonio Riveros, José Felix Cañiza, Sebastián Patiño and Antonio Montiel. The two students who failed the exam, which consisted of translating Latin passages and other exercises, were Sebastian Taboada and José Joaquín Baldovinos.

in 1840. The next cohort of Philosophy students after independence only passed their first-year exams of Logic and Ethics in 1814.¹¹² The history of San Carlos would ultimately end with Francia himself, who as dictator of Paraguay closed down the college in 1822. The following section focuses on the early history of San Carlos (1783-1788) and the conflicts that erupted over its jurisdiction, before looking in some detail at its proposed programme of studies, the *Plan de Estudios* of 1783.

The Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos of Asunción

Institutional Context

The effects of the expulsion of the Jesuits were more drastic in Paraguay than elsewhere: the secular and religious clergy were stretched thin to manage the Guaraní missions, so that thirty lay administrators were required as well. The Chaco was immediately abandoned to Indian tribes who continually raided along the river Paraguay.¹¹³ In Asunción the expulsion doubtless had an adverse economic effect, as well as spelling the end of the yearly Spiritual Exercises and missionary trips to the countryside.

Moreover, the Jesuit College had served as an institution for the formation of local clergy and magistrates. It is true that other religious orders could take over these roles, however they would be subordinate to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Asunción, while the Jesuits had enjoyed relative autonomy. Concern to control Indian hostility and satisfy the demand for priests appears in the correspondence of three governors: Agustín Fernando de Pinedo (1772-1778), Pedro Melo de Portugal (1778-1787, viceroy of the Río de la Plata 1795-1797) and Joaquín de Alós y Brú (1787-1796). Solutions considered included recruiting the Franciscans to found colleges for natives, but the recurring theme was that Asunción needed its own seminary.

¹¹² ANA SH Vol. 207 No. 1: Exámenes de los alumnos del Seminario (1808-1815).

¹¹³ Andrés-Gallego, 'Consecuencias de la expulsión de los jesuitas en América: primer balance,' in *Jesuitas 400 años en Córdoba: congreso internacional, 21 al 24 de setiembre de 1999*, Vol. 2 (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba), 157-162.

Agustin Fernando de Pinedo devised a programme designed to address the vacuum left by the Jesuits on the Chaco front: a system of fortifications along the rivers. Yet this programme only came about because Pinedo had divorced the defence of the province from evangelisation. In a letter addressed to the king on 29 July 1777 Pinedo outlined his project as a response to what he viewed as the utopian desire of the bishop to establish colleges to evangelise Indians.¹¹⁴ The bishop-elect of Paraguay, José de Priego from far-away Charcas had expressed concerns about the lack of priests and the number of Indians to be converted and ‘reduced’, offering as a solution to establish a Franciscan college of *Propaganda Fides* in the town of Villa Rica, about 160 km. away from Asunción. The bishop listed as successful examples of this system Tarija (Upper Perú), Ocopa (Peru), Popayán (New Granada) and Concepción (Chile). In contrast, the governor Pinedo believed that the ideal of conversion could not be put into practice because of the number of hostile tribes and the instability of peace. Even within each Indian nation there were numerous peoples (*gentes*) fighting each other:

The powerful objection that I find to the bishop’s proposal, so that I cannot approve it to your Royal mind, is the multitude of nations that surround this Province, namely: Payaguás, Mocovís, Guaycurús, Tobas, Lenguas, Ballas, Guanas, Sarigues and Abipones. Each of these is formed of numerous peoples opposed among themselves. None are stable in regards of promises of peace offered, as tried experimentations over the last few years have proved, for they break all that they have promised after consuming the cattle, which in its credulity the Province provided, and so they are declared again its enemies.

The only solution to the obstinacy of hostile Indians, according to Pinedo, was war. Instead of colleges he suggested founding fortified towns on both sides of the river. He called for vigilance of river crossings and providing inhabitants of the farthest settlements with gunpowder and bullets. In short, the Franciscan Bishop’s desire to civilise and convert Indians was perceived to be utopian and impractical. Conversion according to Pinedo would require a miracle: ‘successful conversion [is] impossible unless the high celestial spirit of the Peruvian Apostle Saint Francisco Solano and his companion the Venerable Fray Luis de Bolaños

¹¹⁴ ANA SH Vol. 142 No. 9: Gobernador del Paraguay, sobre la necesidad de fundar un Colegio religioso franciscano en la Provincia (1777).

descend, who . . . did not leave traces to their successors of that miraculous conversion.’

The bishop fared better in his petition to found a royal seminary. If the Indian situation could not be solved by educating them, the ignorance and lack of discipline of the clergy might perhaps be remedied by founding a seminary. Similarly, in the 1770s the religious schools already supplied the necessary rudiments of an education but creoles insisted that they wanted a university.¹¹⁵ As a consolation, Charles III ordered the establishment of the *Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos* in 1780, to be funded with the property of the former Jesuit College of Asunción. It took three years for the Governor Pedro Melo de Portugal to reply that the order had been put into practice.¹¹⁶ However, due to financial circumstances San Carlos did not attain the status of a royal university during the eighteenth century, and independence in 1811 cancelled any probability of it obtaining one.

The need for trained priests was great after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Underlying this, as governor Pinedo pointed out, lay a chronic problem: absentee bishops. Candidates for priesthood had to make the long and expensive trip to Córdoba or other provinces to be ordained. According to Pinedo the lack of a bishop was reflected in the general decline in the administration of sacraments and clerical discipline, both among the under-staffed secular clergy and the regulars who were drafted in to help:

In addition to the [lack of priests], there are other [consequences of the vacant diocesan see] of greater gravity such as the absence of confirmations in many people of age, and respectful direction and correctness in the clergy. Notably, the clergy requires reform of abuses and omissions in their spiritual assistance, so that it becomes indispensable to employ religious of various orders - who removed from the observance of their rules, forget them, if they do not abandon them.

Pinedo requested that the future bishop might come straight from Spain or from neighbouring areas such as Tucumán and Buenos Aires. Elderly prelates from other provinces, he observed, (‘Lima, Cusco, Quito, Guamanga, etc.’) could not

¹¹⁵ ANA SH Vol. 64 No. 1: Real Cédula dirigida al Obispo del Paraguay para que informe sobre la conveniencia de instalar una universidad en Asunción (1776).

¹¹⁶ ANA SH Vol. 149 No. 8: Real Cédula sobre el Colegio Seminario de San Carlos (1786).

make the long and arduous journey because of their advanced age. Validating Pinedo's observations in 1776, the bishop-elect Priego died before even setting out towards Paraguay from Charcas. Nonetheless, the foundation of the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos went ahead. Official correspondence between Asunción, Buenos Aires and Spain in the 1780s suggests that the early days of the school were affected by three factors: shortage of teaching staff, lack of funds, and conflicts between secular and ecclesiastical figures over the authority of the seminary.¹¹⁷

The first rector was Don Gavino de Echeverría y Gallo, a native of Burgos, who became embroiled in a bitter struggle with Pedro Melo de Portugal and his successor Joaquín de Alós.¹¹⁸ Events seem to have come to a head in 1785 but the case was drawn out until 1788. The students initially presented a formal complaint and Pedro Melo de Portugal decided that the removal of Echeverría from the seminary was necessary 'in order to prevent the damages that threatened its existence... and the subordination and relaxation of good customs'. The Rector however refused to give his resignation and according to the governor, received his secretary with 'insult and denying me to be a competent judge'. In the meantime, Echeverría also wrote to Spain, reporting grave mismanagement of the funds destined for the college, stating that he had been unable to obtain the 2000 pesos originally assigned for the establishment of the college. Echeverría judged that the situation of the college was precarious, for 'students are exposed to the risk of losing their teachers.'¹¹⁹

Alós characterised Echeverría as a character of 'inappropriate character and absolute ineptitude' ('*improprio genio y absoluta ineptitud*').¹²⁰ Discipline

¹¹⁷ Conflict over the administration of former Jesuit institutions was not limited to Asunción or Córdoba, and often involved religious orders which had previously competed with the Jesuits such as the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians. See Enrique Villalba Pérez, *Consecuencias educativas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de América [Biblioteca del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad 8]* (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid/Dykinson, 2003), 202-206; José M. Vargas, ed., *Polémica universitaria en Quito colonial* (Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1983).

¹¹⁸ Initially Don Alonso Baez was named the rector in April of 1782, but he resigned in November and did not take up the post. ANA NE Vol. 129: Expediente de fundación y establecimiento del Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos (1783)

¹¹⁹ ANA SH Vol. 149 No. 8.

¹²⁰ ANA SH Vol. 143 No. 3: Informe del Gobernador del Paraguay Joaquín de Alós al Rey, sobre el Real Colegio Seminario. Borrador (1788).

declined during Echeverría's tenure, alleged Alós, to the point that he was forced to remove Echeverría in 1787. Alós appointed a priest from Corrientes as rector, José Baltazar de Casajús, whom he considered sufficiently neutral and unaffected by the local contest. Casajús remained as rector throughout the rest of the colonial period and was one of the ecclesiastical figures who signed the documents of independence in 1811. One consequence of the Echeverría case is that in his 1788 letter Joaquín de Alós formally requested that the college be henceforth only under the authority of the *patronato* of the governor, which until then was held jointly with the bishop.¹²¹

Lack of teachers for the seminary was also a problem. In November of 1782 Melo de Portugal was compelled to assign two parish priests (chosen by the governor and the three canons of the cathedral) because no candidates had applied for the teaching posts.¹²² In light of these circumstances, the governor justified not being able to follow the command which accompanied the suppression of the Jesuits forbidding any regular clergy to teach at royal establishments. Also, the three other religious orders of Asunción (Dominicans, Franciscans and Mercedarians) ran their own schools so it is likely that, at least regarding the study of Latin and Grammar, San Carlos had to compete with the religious schools. In a 1786 *Bando Público* to the people of Asunción and the heads of the convents, Pedro Melo de Portugal sternly reminded them that the seminary had been founded 'so that... this Province be perfectly instructed in Latinity (*Latinidad*) as the main foundation of the rest of the sciences'. It was unacceptable for Melo de Portugal that parents were switching their sons between schools or withdrawing them altogether.¹²³ San Carlos in this respect inherited the competition over education which had already characterised Asunción in the Jesuit era.

Similar to Pedro Melo de Portugal, Joaquín de Alós highlighted the importance of Latin and education. In 1788 Joaquín de Alós reported that the locals had collected the 20,000 pesos which were required to invest the college with the status of university according to a 1779 royal provision. Alós also

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² ANA NE Vol. 129: 'por no haverse presentado opositor alguno en el termino de los edictos.'

¹²³ ANA SH Vol. 149 No. 7 (1): El gobernador a los Prelados de los Conventos sobre estudiantes de sus colegios (1786)

explained the difficulties in securing the funds that had been promised to the seminary. The amount granted by the king had never reached Paraguay because the bishop Priego, who was supposed to bring them from Charcas, had died before setting out. Alós nominated the creole lawyer Pedro Vicente Cañete as his agent in Charcas to secure the elusive funds, which by 1788 were said to be held in Buenos Aires.

The manuscript held in the archive of Asunción is a draft of the final letter sent to Spain. It is thus possible to have an insight into the writing process. The wording of Alós in explaining his choice of Cañete is revealing: as an American-born member of the elite, Alós assumed that Cañete would have a vested interest in the college. He first wrote ‘Patria’, and then crossed it out, substituting it with ‘Pais’:

[I nominated] Don Pedro Vicente Cañete, [the *teniente letrado* of Potosí, a natural of this city of Asunción] who as a Patrician and consequently interested in the advantages that this establishment would bring to his ~~patria~~ country, could by means of his position and prestige there accomplish something, but he has lately written to be excused due to the excessive difficulty...

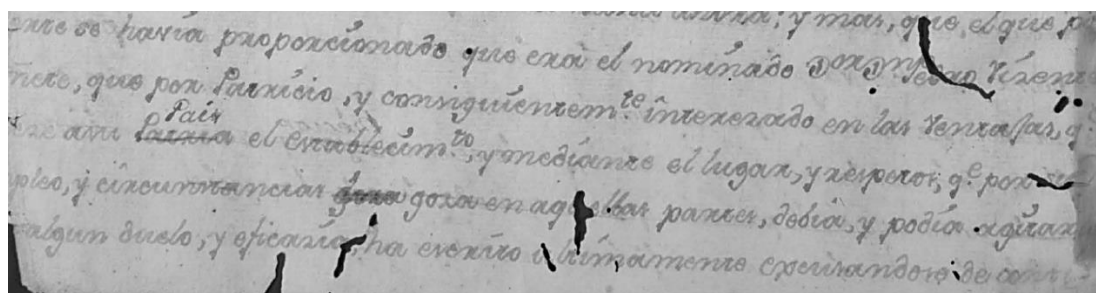


Figure 9 - ANA SH Vol. 143 No. 3, f. 7

This correction by Alós shows that not only did creoles articulate the importance of colleges for their society (as discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis), but that colonial authorities also recognised this phenomenon and used it when it converged with their own goals. Here Alós seemed to refer to Cañete's love of Asunción in the narrow sense of a homeland (*patria chica*). However, Alós chose to downplay the acknowledgement of creole patriotism by using ‘pais’ instead of the more emotionally-charged ‘patria’. It would have been unnecessary perhaps to

remind the Spanish court of the results of unbridled patriotism in recent times: love of a native soil had only recently featured in the Tupac Amaru rebellion (1780-1783), the largest uprising in the history of colonial Spanish America. Although based in the Andean highlands, the rebellion had reached the Rio de la Plata and had tested the new viceregal administration based in Buenos Aires.¹²⁴

In addition, Alós outlined the prospective utility of a university in Paraguay. First, a local university would produce teachers and serve the common good of a province that 'isolated from general commerce is uncultured and poor'. Alós extolled the natural ability of creoles, stating that the province produced great intellectual minds, but that its talents could only be used in religious orders, where they had previously excelled. Few students, he added, had the means to travel the 400 leagues to Córdoba, or they did not want to leave their homes.¹²⁵ A university would thus create a pool of creole clergy and give them a platform for their intellectual abilities. The utility of the college therefore did not lie mainly in producing virtuous citizens and leaders of society, as Peramás had outlined in his *Laudationes Quinque*, but it would also help stimulate the economy of the province.

Alós finished with the suggestion that the descendants of caciques from the Indian pueblos should be allowed to enrol, in fact proposing two scholarships for 'those who show promise in studies of Latinity'. Fresh from a tour of the Indian pueblos, Alós argued that a native clergy would greatly contribute towards educating Indians. Considering the shortage of priests, his proposal made perfect sense and seems to have met with acceptance, for at least three Indians are listed among the students of San Carlos between 1780 and 1810: Venancio Toubé, Juan de la Cruz Yaguareté and José Domingo Guainaré.¹²⁶

In 1788, Alós reported that only 22 students attended the seminary due to 'lack of discipline'. Don José Antonio Zavala had accepted the chair of Theology (Prime) after renouncing his curate. Dr. Don Francisco Javier Bogarín held the

¹²⁴ Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru 1780-1840* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 16-54.

¹²⁵ ANA SH Vol. 143 No. 3.

¹²⁶ ANA SH Vol. 207 No. 1: Exámenes de los alumnos del Seminario (1808-1815). Cf. Benigno Riquelme García, *El Colegio Seminario Conciliar de San Carlos, de Asunción* (1783-1822) (Asunción: Ediciones Cuadernos Republicanos, 1975).

chair of Philosophy, and Don Marcelino Ocampos was the master of Grammar. Don Bartolomé Amarilla technically held the chair of Theology at Vespers, but because he was still a canon priest of the Cathedral he never actually taught at the seminary. Aware that the process of obtaining teaching posts needed to be normalised, Alós stated that in the future selection of professors would take place by means of formal opposition of candidates, per the viceroy's orders, and not be subject to arbitrary decisions.¹²⁷

The Plan de Estudios of 1783

The *Plan de Estudios* of San Carlos proposed the creation of chairs of Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Scholastic Theology, Canons, Philosophy and Grammar. The document is damaged and illegible in several places. It is divided into three main sections, on Grammar, Philosophy and Theology respectively.¹²⁸ Its authorship is not clear, as it only gives the names of those who signed its ratification: the governor Pedro Melo de Portugal and the cathedral priests Don Antonio de la Peña, Don Antonio Samudio and Don Gavino de Echeverría. However, since Echeverría became the first rector it can be conjectured that he was involved in drafting the document. What is certain is that the founders of San Carlos sought to incorporate new sciences and as well as to correct what they perceived to be Jesuit 'abuses'. Thus the Philosophy programme would include not only the traditional Logic, Physics, Metaphysics and Ethics, but also the new field of experimental physics.¹²⁹

The *Plan de Estudios of San Carlos* opened with a statement on the importance of the liberal arts and how governments throughout history had shown

¹²⁷ This may be to prevent scandals such as the row that ensued when Francia protested that he had been overlooked in favour of Francisco Javier Bogarín. Francia eventually obtained a post in 1787, although he resigned a year later; ANA SH Vol. 439 No. 1: Dr. José G. Rodríguez de Francia es nombrado Catedrático de Teología de Vísperas (1787).

¹²⁸ ANA NE Vol. 83: Plan de estudios Colegio San Carlos (1783). A note at the end of the manuscript states that this is a copy ordered in 1788 by the rector Casajús. Extracts were published in Hipólito Sánchez Quell, *Estructura y función del Paraguay colonial* (Asunción: Editorial Casa América, 1981), 241-247.

¹²⁹ Cap.3.Art.2 §7. No chairs of Mathematics or Science were created in the Plan de Estudios although Sánchez Quell noted that they could have been studied as part of experimental physics in the Philosophy course. A chair of Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra was only created at Córdoba in 1809 (ANA SH Vol.179 No.2).

great care in educating youth: 'The liberal arts are so necessary to order the republic and to direct human society.' The plan then provided a brief of history of grammar, which located the origins of grammar among the ancient Hebrews. This knowledge was transmitted to the Phoenicians, the Greeks and ultimately Rome.¹³⁰ Similar summaries of the history of Philosophy and Theology are provided at the beginning of each section. This transfer of knowledge (*translatio studii*) could be said to culminate with the Spanish king himself, who had noticed the poverty of Paraguay and decided to endow them with a university, since they could not afford one themselves: 'our Catholic monarch . . . for the good of his vassals, especially for those as poor as in this province, has conceded the erection of a royal seminary, and for its greater lustre he has granted the said college the right to confer university degrees.'

The *Plan de Estudios* however expressed no aspirations for Asunción to become a shining beacon of learning in Spanish America. In fact it quite openly acknowledged the practical limitations of studying in colonial Paraguay. Lack of funds did not allow the establishment of a chair of Rhetoric, but the Grammar professor was expected to instil 'some part of Rhetoric, even in the basic elements of eloquence such as problems, periphrasis, elocutions . . . and other principles of that genre.' In theory the professor of Grammar was expected to teach more than just Grammar, including Rhetoric, History and Geography. The choice of books was left to the master's choice and good taste due to 'the difficulty of finding [books] here'. This suggests that the Jesuit library's holdings had not been tapped or expanded with new books.

Elsewhere in Spanish America it seems that texts commonly used in Jesuit classrooms continued to be used, without of course acknowledgement of their connection with the Jesuit curriculum. For instance, in the plans for the colleges of San Bartolomé and Rosario in Bogotá in the 1770s, the Archbishop-Viceroy Antonio Caballero y Góngora instructed that students learn Latin by means of Nebrija's *Arte* and the Latin-Spanish translations of Phaedrus, Caesar and Quintus Curtius Rufus. Similarly, in 1789 the priest of San Girón (New Granada) Doctor Felipe Salgar submitted a request for the establishment of an elementary school,

¹³⁰ Cap.1.Art.2§1.

listing the following works in his proposed plan: Nebrija's *Arte*, the fables of Phaedrus, the biographies of Nepos, Caesar, Cicero's *De Amicitia*, Horace and Virgil.¹³¹ These books essentially constituted the reading list suggested by the *Ratio Studiorum*, with the inclusion of Phaedrus and Nepos by Francisco Javier Idiáquez thirty years before. Moreover, these texts would have still been available in the confiscated Jesuit libraries, for the reforms of Villgarcía had led to printing and disseminating these texts in Spanish America shortly before 1767. This attests to the continued legacy of Jesuit education.

In the case of Asunción however, the *Plan de Estudios* wavered in its estimation of Latin and rhetoric and offered no suggested authors. First, it referred to Suetonius' *On Grammarians* to highlight the importance of Latinity in creating professionals: 'In Rome there were more than twenty famous schools of Grammar, and that he had heard his parents say that from these schools famous patrons and lawyers had emerged and been accepted into the forum with praise.'¹³² Geography was then presented as necessary for orators, 'for without knowledge of the terrestrial globe one cannot praise or vituperate the action of heroes or the travels of the saints, whose theatre has been sea and land.'¹³³ Grammar and Geography both seem here to be intended as tools in preparation for Rhetoric and History.

According to the *Plan de Estudios*, Grammar ought to be studied not to develop proficiency in speaking and writing in Latin, but because it helped develop the mind: 'That Grammar is among the liberal Arts the most necessary and useful for the intelligence of the higher faculties is proven by its use in the schools of the world and the incomparable advantages of those who have studied it.'¹³⁴ Even more striking is that the *Plan de Estudios* justifies ignorance of

¹³¹ Molino García, *Griegos y romanos en la primera república Colombiana*, 101-107.

¹³² Suet. *Gram. et rhet.* 3.4: *temporibus quibusdam super viginti celebres scholae fuisse in urbe tradantur* ['at certain times, it is said, there were more than twenty famous schools in the city']. In his commentary of this work, Kaster observed that 'temporibus quibus' was chronologically vague. If it referred to Rome in the first century B.C. and each school had an average of 40 students, it still shows that the teaching of grammar did not extend beyond a small section of a population of 1,000,000. He also translated 'celebres' as 'well-attended', but the *Plan de Estudios* probably meant 'famous', as in Spanish usage. Robert A. Kaster, *Suetonius De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 81-82.

¹³³ Cap.2.Art.1§6.

¹³⁴ Cap.1.Art.2§1.

rhetoric, which had been the crowning glory of classical learning in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*:

We are confident that his disciples shall emerge perfect grammarians and moderate rhetoricians. Even if they do not declaim with such artifice . . . at least they will be able to explain with medium ability the dogmas and doctrines of the Gospel. As long as they are virtuous and fearful of God they will speak with inspired eloquence, as Saint Paul said.

Implicit in the little importance accorded to rhetoric and ‘artifice’ is a rejection of the Jesuit educational method which drilled students to cultivate spoken and written Latin.¹³⁵ Indeed, the dismissal of the Jesuit aims of education prompted an extraordinary dismissal of Latinity in a passage where the creoles of Paraguay are identified with ancient barbarians:

And even when they incur in some defect they will have the famous justification that Anacharsis gave the Athenians (who mocked him for his solecisms and bad pronunciation of Greek letters), saying that there is no bad oration when the counsels are good, and much more when honest deeds follows words and speeches. It would be worse to be pernicious at the pulpit with sonorous disputations of rhetoric, converting moral doctrine into poison, as wasps and venomous creatures who fashion poison from the same precious roses and flowers from which bees take honey.¹³⁶

Anacharsis the Scythian had figured in Renaissance debates on rhetoric. The humanists Philip Melancthon and Pico della Mirandola for instance had cited Anacharsis to illustrate that a person who is not a native speaker of a language is apt make linguistic mistakes (solecisms). Melancthon however dismissed such ‘barbarism as the most harmful plague’ and encouraged the study of eloquence.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ In nineteenth century France, the suppression of rhetoric was also due to modernising reforms which identified the Jesuits with traditional schooling and rhetoric, drawing from the sixteenth-century ‘dark legend’ by which the Jesuits were said to have been installed by the Spanish king as spies who aimed to corrupt French youth; Marc Fumaroli, ‘The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case’, in John W. O’Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 90-106.

¹³⁶ Cap.2.Art.1§3. Cf. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La Vanda y la Flor*, Act 2 Scene 3:

*Del más hermoso clavel,
pompa de un jardín ameno,
el áspid saca veneno,
y la aveja viva miel.*

¹³⁷ Anach. *Epistulae* 1. Wayne Rebhorn noted that no ancient writer quoted this saying, so Pico’s source is ‘something of a mystery’; Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 65.

It seems strange that Spanish Americans would identify themselves with a 'barbarian', but the point seems to be that eloquence as an end in itself held no value. This is surely a snub of the Jesuits who had aimed to cultivate polished classical style. Unknowingly perhaps, by implying that the Jesuits were 'wasps', the *Plan de Estudios* also subverted one the preferred Jesuit *topos* of seeing themselves as bees or selfless workers for the common good.¹³⁸

Jesuits also seem to be a target of criticism in the section on Philosophy. Allusions to vicious and proud philosophers who were 'pernicious to the republic' and ultimately expelled from their *patria* could not but elicit the memory of the exiled order:

The Master of Arts must devote . . . three integral years to the teaching of Philosophy. He will take care that by the third year the main questions of Ethics and Moral Philosophy have been explained so that his disciplines can be true Christian philosophers, without the ambition, pride and ostentation of the gentile Philosophers who stubbornly sustained so many sects to satiate their vices. In this way they shall not be pernicious to the republic nor shall they be expatriated like the epicureans were expelled from Rome by the Senate . . . or the Stoics and Cynics by Vespasian.¹³⁹

The methods of instruction proposed in the plan also seem quite reformist. For example, it emphasised explications instead of 'wasting time' on dictations.¹⁴⁰ As in Córdoba, explanations (most likely in the vernacular) superseded dictation (assumed to be Latin). Practical concerns may have also played a role. A lack of paper would make extensive note-taking impractical. A reference to Quintilian in the introduction aimed to present a pragmatic view of education, which at the same time disguised the fact that the circumstances of Asunción did not allow for anything more ambitious:

But the minds of youths are like vessels with narrow mouths, as Quintilian said, so they cannot accept liquid that is poured into them suddenly and in too much abundance. It is necessary to imbue their spirits by introducing wisdom into them artfully. This method of studies shall provide them with

¹³⁸ Richard Dimler, 'The Bee topos in the Jesuit Emblem Book: Themes and Contrasts' in A. Adams and A. J. Harper, eds., *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety* (Leiden: 1992), 229-246.

¹³⁹ Cap. 3. Art. 2§6.

¹⁴⁰ Cap. 3. Art. 2§8.

the intelligence and profit which they are not by themselves able to perceive if they are not in proportion to . . . their talents.¹⁴¹

The plan instructed that history should serve the needs of grammar, and viceversa. The choice of Grammar books (including poetry) was left to the professor, but the *Plan de Estudios* proposed translating histories as part of the Grammar course to learn some general history, as it were, killing two birds with one stone:

In order to provide them with knowledge of ecclesiastical history and of the first ages of the world, let him choose a compendium in Latin of church history, or some historic enchiridion, or a history of ancient times for them to . . . translate. In this way they will be unconsciously instructed in History, which is so necessary for all the offices of man, and will be accomplished in it after little effort.¹⁴²

No actual classical authors were named, in contrast to the Jesuit programme of Humanities which had called for reading Curtius, Sallust, Caesar and Livy. Instead, the *Plan de Estudios* recommended compendiums of history. This suggests that students at San Carlos did not learn Roman history by a direct reading of classical texts, which signals an important change in the way that Paraguayan creoles accessed antiquity by the late eighteenth century.

While the choice of texts was left to the discretion of professors in Philosophy, the Theology course was explicitly anti-Jesuit in its choice of textbooks. Along with the usual Aquinas, Peter Lombard and the ‘divertísimo Soto’, the plan proposed the works of Alexandre Noël and Louis Habert.¹⁴³ The latter especially was involved in debates with Jesuits in the early eighteenth-century.¹⁴⁴ The inclusion of Habert in the *Plan de Estudios* thus represents a

¹⁴¹ Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.28-29.

¹⁴² Cap.2.Art.1§5.

¹⁴³ Alexandre Noël (Natal), *Theologia dogmatica et moralis : secundum ordinem catechismi Concilii Tridentini in quinque libros tributa*... 2 volumes (Parisiis: Sumptibus Antonii Dezallier, 1703); Louis Habert, *Theologia dogmatica et moralis ad usum seminarii Catalaneunsis*... 7 volumes (Parisiis: Spiritum Billiot, Dionysii Thierry 1707-1712). The Jesuit library already had several works of the Dominican theologian Natal, including the nine-volume *Historia ecclesiastica Veteris Novique Testamenti* (Luccae: L. Venturini, 1748).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Nicolas Petitpied, *De l'injuste accusation de Jansenisme. Plainte [by N. Petitpied] à m. Habert a l'occasion des Défenses contre un libelle intitulé: Dénonciation de la theologie de m. Habert* (n.pl.: 1712). For instance, Petitpied centred on the Jesuits' obsession with the ‘phantom of Jansenism’, alledging that the Jesuits went so far as to ascribe the papal condemnation of the Chinese Rites to a secret concession from Clement XI to Jansenists (p. 2-4).

rejection of Jesuit casuistry and their perceived moral laxitude in justifying sin.¹⁴⁵ These authors were also commonly suggested in the reformist plans of Spanish universities, but rejection of scholasticism and the turn towards rigorism there was much stronger.¹⁴⁶

Antonio Álvarez de Morales has studied the *Planes de Estudios* produced by Spanish faculties and universities in the 1780s. Reformers in general collided with conservative cloisters over the importance and place of Aquinas in the curriculum, but they generally agreed that ecclesiastical history and Patrology had been neglected under the Jesuits.¹⁴⁷ Alcalá spearheaded innovations, proposing the compendium of ecclesiastical history by the Dominican Ignatius Graveson.¹⁴⁸ The *Plan de Estudios* of San Carlos also recommended Graveson for its seminarians, as did Córdoba under the Franciscans.¹⁴⁹ In order to access Scripture and patristic texts, universities such as Granada also proposed, rather unrealistically, to reinstate the study of Greek and Hebrew.¹⁵⁰ Yet this was not the case in Asunción, where the value of ancient cultures was recognised but knowledge of classical languages – apart from Latin – was eschewed. Even then the *Plan de Estudios* of San Carlos aimed no higher than proficiency in *gramática* and the rudiments of rhetoric.

Therefore, since Latin was regarded as intimately tied to a decadent scholastic philosophy and to pernicious Jesuit rhetoric, it must be seen as going into a steep decline in late eighteenth century Asunción and Córdoba, and most likely in the rest of the Rio de la Plata. This process however went hand in hand with a transformation of classical learning as it expanded into more lay areas of society through newspapers and oral dissemination. This popularisation of classical learning and its role in the independence movements of the Rio de la Plata is the subject of the final chapter of this thesis.

¹⁴⁵ Habert's ideas about confession in the *Pratique du sacrement de penitence* (Paris, 1729) were the topic of Foucault's lecture at the Collège de Paris on sexuality and abnormality on 19 February 1975. See Michel Foucault et al., *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975* (New York: Picador 2003).

¹⁴⁶ Antonio Álvarez de Morales, *La ilustración y la reforma de la universidad en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, 1988 [1971]), 121-130.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

¹⁴⁸ Ignatius Amat de Graveson, *Historia ecclesiastica variis colloquiis digesta*. (Augsburg: Sumptibus Fratrum Veith, 1738).

¹⁴⁹ Cap. 5§5.

¹⁵⁰ Álvarez de Morales, *La Ilustración y la Reforma de la Universidad*, 129.

Conclusion

Grammar remained the foundational stone of education before and after the expulsion of the Jesuits, but under markedly different circumstances. In the 1750s the Jesuit College of Asunción was clearly struggling to make its students attain the levels outlined in the *Ratio Studiorum*, but the presence of several textbooks from Villagarcía suggests that the Asunción Jesuits aligned themselves with a larger movement of renewal in classical learning across Spain and Spanish America. However, the expulsion of the Jesuits meant that the decline of Latinity continued unhindered in the 1770s. In 1783 the *Plan de Estudios* of San Carlos insisted that Grammar underpinned other subjects, but in its rejection of Rhetoric the subject of Grammar lost its practical appeal. That is, the Jesuit programme had aimed to produce leaders of society who were more or less competent in Rhetoric. The founders of San Carlos, in throwing Jesuit pedagogy overboard, also effectively discarded the applicability of a classical education. The value of Grammar would henceforth lay in forming the intellect, not as a stepping stone towards reading classical texts and speaking persuasively. Knowledge of Latin and Roman history did retain its prestige in the last decades of the eighteenth century, but the goals and nature of the educational agenda were altered.

The *Plan de Estudios* did not attempt to mask its reformist tendencies even if framed in very traditional terms. As an eclectic programme it expressed reverence for scholasticism at the same time as it warned against its ‘aridness’ and proposed the incorporation of new sciences such as experimental physics. In practice this programme would have been unattainable. The plan tells us more about what young seminarians hoped to learn in colonial Paraguay than what they actually learnt; the programme it outlined contains the ambitions of creoles who were attempting to assert their intellectual autonomy from Córdoba and claim their place in the colonial system. At the same time, creole ambitions converged with the aims of the Bourbon officials. Classical learning, as the governors indicated, was the basis of scientific study and the acquisition of knowledge that would improve the economy of the province. Creoles such as Pedro Vicente Cañete agreed.

The desire to restrict the power of the clergy and increase administrative efficiency are usually seen as hallmarks of Bourbon reforms, which translated into disputes over the jurisdiction of institutes of education. Yet in colonial Paraguay the perceived utility of a seminary overrode any conflict between church and state. Ultimately secular and ecclesiastical authorities concurred that a seminary was necessary to produce a local crop of priests. San Carlos was thus a strategy to supplant the exiled Jesuits (especially among the Indians) and help control a provincial population which was undergoing important demographic shifts.

The collapse of Spanish monarchical authority in 1808 led to a breakdown of the alliance of goals between the peninsular officials and creoles. Instead, classical learning became part of the struggle to define a new relationship with Spain. The final chapter analyses the political language provided by classical learning, with emphasis on the different meanings of 'republic' in the Rio de la Plata in the early nineteenth century. This sheds light on the independence process in a way hitherto neglected by Paraguayan historiography.

Chapter 4: The reception of antiquity and the concept of republic in the political thought of the Rio de la Plata

Introduction

In 1810 Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, the viceroy of the Rio de la Plata, was deposed in what is known as the ‘May Revolution’, which started the process of Argentine independence. Buenos Aires sought to claim jurisdiction over the viceroyalty, which included the modern countries of Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and parts of Bolivia. In 1813 Nicolás de Herrera was sent as minister to negotiate Paraguayans’ acceptance of a government led by Buenos Aires. However, on 12 October a general convention in Asunción voted to be governed by two consuls: military commander Fulgencio Yegros and Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, a graduate of the University of Córdoba. Herrera was not even invited to present his proposal before the convention.

Herrera reported the failure of his mission in a letter where he expressed his view that the Paraguayan republican project was absurd. He commented caustically that Francia, ‘imbued in the maxims of the Roman Republic attempts ridiculously to organise his government based on that model...’¹ Why did Herrera hold this view? This chapter explores the political language used during the creation of the South American Republic of Paraguay between 1811 and 1816, focusing on the different meanings of ‘republic’, ‘consul’ and ‘dictator’ within the literary and historical context in which they appear. By looking at dictionaries, newspapers and literature, these terms will be shown to have possessed an

¹ Nicolás de Herrera to Buenos Aires, 1813, qtd. in Pierangelo Catalano, ‘Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia: República del Paraguay 1813-1870’ in *Diritto Pubblico Romano e Constitutionalismo Latinoamericano, 1, Rio de la Plata* (Sassari: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 1990), 61.

extraordinary versatility, and in combination, to have helped articulate one of the first experiments of statehood in South America. Francia's radical 'Roman experiment' should not merely be seen as a misreading of ancient history, but as the final collapse of the Jesuit system of two republics (discussed in previous chapters) and the creation of a new republic based on a *mestizo* nation.

Yet the South American revolutions of independence remain peripheral to histories of republicanism, as discussed further below. One reason may be related to sources. The debates that ensued in the Rio de la Plata over the applicability of ancient models was not undertaken by writers now considered canonical (such as Montesquieu and Rousseau) nor did they produce long treatises on the subject. References are scattered, sometimes by unknown pens, in newspapers and archive documents. Also, debates about antiquity were part of wider concerns such as the relationship with Spain. We need an approach that takes into consideration both literature and its political transcendence in order to understand how classical learning helped creoles envision and articulate independence and self-government in the Rio de la Plata.

Modern intellectual historians have shaped the approach taken in this chapter. Quentin Skinner traced the emergence of the concept of state in the context of the upheavals caused by the Reformation in Europe.² Skinner's emphasis on contextualisation is helpful, but his sources were still mainly writings of notable political theorists and philosophers. More useful is John Pocock's emphasis on language as political discourse, especially the language of classical republicanism, which entailed more than just vocabulary; the historian, much like an archaeologist, should search for the values encoded over time within linguistic paradigms, among layers of context.³ This chapter takes vocabulary as its starting point, and following Pocock, focuses especially on terms that were accredited or

² Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

³ John Pocock, 'The concept of a language and the *métier d'historien*: some considerations on practice' in Anthony Pagden, ed. *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 19-38. For a critical discussion of the limitations of the 'linguistic turn' of Pocock and Skinner see Kevin Sharpe, 'A commonwealth of meanings: languages, analogues, ideas and politics' in *Remapping Early Modern England: The culture of seventeenth-century politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), especially pp. 38-46.

institutionalised in public speech.⁴ Finally, dictionaries, as shown by Reinhart Koselleck, can be useful to chart the evolution of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*).⁵ Dictionaries and archive records constitute important sources of institutionalised vocabulary explored in this chapter.

Much scholarship on republican language originated in studies of the English Civil War and the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell (1642-1659).⁶ According to Pocock, republicanism was first instantiated in language, and after the execution Charles I in 1649 it became a political programme.⁷ Patrick Cheney similarly argued that Christopher Marlowe's translation of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (a Latin epic on the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey) had created by 1600 'a formal English republican language, without putting it into program.'⁸ Drawing on these approaches, this chapter analyses the political relevance of literature and debates in the Rio de la Plata starting with the collapse of Spanish sovereignty in 1808, which was precipitated by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.

The first section explores the variety of meanings of republic in the colonial period, arguing that the concept developed in three spheres: politics, morality, and religion. The crisis of authority in Spain led to imaginings of actual republics in the Rio de la Plata starting in 1809, as discussed in the second section. Then the focus narrows to Paraguay, its justification of self-government in 1811 and the establishment of the consulate in 1813. The final section of this chapter explores the contested uses of antiquity in light of perceptions of the dictatorship

⁴ John Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 8.

⁵ See for instance his most famous work on 'Crisis', published in the third volume of the monumental *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Otto Brunner et al, eds. 8 vols (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972-97), 617-650. A translation by Michaela Richter was published in the *Journal of History of Ideas* 67 no. 2 (2006): 357-400.

⁶ See especially Part 3 of John Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1975).

⁷ Cf. Blair Worden, 'Milton's republicanism and the tyranny of heaven' in Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner and Maurizio Viroli, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 225. According to Worden, Tudor humanists such as Thomas More in *Utopia* (1516) and Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia* (c. 1580) would have referred to ancient political models mainly as subjects of speculation and imaginative literature.

⁸ Patrick Cheney, 'Defend his freedom "against a monarchy": Marlowe's Republican Authorship', in Zachary Lesser and Benedict S. Robinson, *Textual Conversations in the Renaissance: Ethics, Authors, Technologies* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 27-44.

of Francia in the rest of the Rio de la Plata, particularly in Buenos Aires. Overall this chapter argues that the classical political language developed over the colonial period (and transmitted by means of education) was harnessed after 1808, resulting in the first republican experiment of Paraguay in the Rio de la Plata region.

‘Republic’ in Eighteenth-Century Europe and Spanish America

For the most part Spanish America remains on the fringes of histories of republicanism. John Pocock traced republicanism through Machiavelli to the North Atlantic revolutions, with a special focus on the role of Puritans and the English Civil War; John Elliott viewed republicanism as an overwhelming North American phenomenon.⁹ Republicanism, in this scheme, becomes an alien creed that was awkwardly transplanted to Spanish America and that did not fill the fatal gap between elite interests and ideas of universal rights after independence. Similarly, the ‘republican solution’ was quickly dismissed by Beatriz Dávila in an otherwise compelling study of the influence of Anglo-American models in the Rio de la Plata: ‘a constitutional and juridical tradition . . . had not been strongly developed in Hispanic America [and] the success of republican experiments would be dependent on a law-abiding citizenry committed to the principles of the new regime.’¹⁰ Republicanism is for Dávila as for Elliott a story of failure in South America. Mexico could be the exception: David Brading argued that Mexicans developed a strong creole patriotism based on their shared pre-Columbian and colonial heritage (further strengthened by widespread devotion to

⁹ John Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1975); John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁰ Beatriz Dávila, ‘The Rio de la Plata and Anglo-American Political and Social Models, 1810-1827’ in *Soundings in Atlantic history: latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830*, Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 371.

the Virgin of Guadalupe) but that South Americans mainly relied on the importation of foreign ideologies such as classical republicanism.¹¹

Such studies simplify what was actually a series of disputes, for in the Rio de la Plata ‘there was no basic agreement on constitutional or political principles or on how the nation... should be organized.’¹² Yet by downplaying the Spanish American tradition of self-government through institutions such as *cabildos abiertos*, the voice of a Spanish American republican tradition is silenced – a tradition which had its own distinctive features and which was in dialogue with the European Enlightenment. South Americans emerge from the studies outlined above as lacking practice at self-government before independence, and therefore as struggling to fill the power vacuum left by Spain.¹³ This was clearly not the case, as will be shown below.

Furthermore, republicanism is often studied in relation to nationalism, with little discussion of what constituted this ‘republicanism’ itself.¹⁴ In national histories Paraguay is considered to have completely broken off from Buenos Aires and the nascent Argentina after 1812. As a result, the tale of Paraguay’s consulate (1813-1814) and dictatorship (1814-1840) is rarely, if ever, considered alongside the republican ‘failure’ of Buenos Aires and the rest of the Rio de la Plata between 1810 and 1827.¹⁵ A regional perspective is needed, at the very least, to better understand the early years of independence. In fact, it will be shown in what follows that creoles came to view independence as related movements across space (the American continent) and time, linking antiquity with the present.

¹¹ Brading, *The First America*, 4-5, 603-620.

¹² Bernard Bailyn, ‘Reflections on Some Major Themes’ in *Soundings in Atlantic history: latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830*, Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 36.

¹³ For a thorough critique of perceptions of political thought in the Ibero-American world as stagnant and relying on foreign imports, and for a summary of new directions taken in works of intellectual and conceptual history, see Gabriel Paquette ‘The Study of Political Thought in the Ibero-Atlantic World during the Age of Revolutions’ in *Modern Intellectual History* 10 no. 2 (2013): 437-448.

¹⁴ Exceptions are Andersonian studies of nationalism. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), especially 47-66.

¹⁵ An example is Gabriel Di Meglio’s survey of the concept of republic in the Rio de la Plata, where Paraguay is completely absent. Gabriel Di Meglio, ‘República’ in *Lenguaje y revolucion: Conceptos políticos clave en el Rio de la Plata, 1780-1850*, Noemí Goldman, ed. (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2008), 145-158.

Paraguay had autochthonous traditions of local democratic decision-making dating back to the colonial period. One example may illustrate this. In 1761 José Robles, the rector of the Jesuit college of Asunción, reported that the governor Jaime San Just decided how many heads of cattle each inhabitant of Asunción should provide for the new mission to the Mbayá, allocating twenty, fifty or even a hundred to each household. This resulted in complaints about the tyrannical action of the governor (which according to the rector were vented onto the Jesuits), for *asuncenos* regarded the governor's high-handedness as contrary to the usual practice of volunteering supplies in a *cabildo abierto*:

In such cases, the people are gathered in a public assembly, commonly called the *cabildo abierto*, attended by as many people as who wished to attend, including lay people, clergy and even religious orders. After the reasons to establish a reduction or to embark on a conquest of Indians are stated, everyone is asked to contribute in so far as they are able to, without force or expectation of reward, and without determining how much they are to contribute...¹⁶

The expectation then was that in extraordinary situations that required everyone's contribution, decisions should be reached by an essentially democratic means in the form of the *cabildo abierto*. This institution played a crucial role in Spanish America after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808, as will be demonstrated below. Its democratic character would become the subject of debates in newspapers of the Rio de la Plata in the decade following independence. For example, in 1816 an article in *La Gazeta Extraordinaria* of Buenos Aires raised the question of whether the *cabildo abierto* should be retained, as it was perceived to be prone to disorderliness, riddled by factions and not easily attended by people

¹⁶ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337: 'Lo que otras veces se ha sabido hacer en semejantes lances, es juntar al vecindario en una asamblea publica, que suelen llamar Cabildo abierto; porque pueden asistir cuantos quieran, así Seglares, como Eclesiásticos, y aun Religiosos; y propuestas delante de todos los razones de conveniencia, que hay que se establezca tal Reducción, o se emprenda tal conquista de infieles, se pide, que cada uno acudiese con lo que pueda para esta buena obra, pero sin forzar, ni premiar a alguno, y mucho menos sin determinar cuanta, o cantidad que haya de dar: para que así; lo den de mejor gana. En esta ocasión no se hizo así, sino que el Señor Gobernador San Just [...] señalando a unos 20, a otros 50, a otros 100 cabezas de ganado, y así a otros en proporción, dando comisión, para que con apremio se cobrasen. Esto irritó grandemente los ánimos de muchos, que por eso calificaban de tiranía semejante conducta...'

from the countryside, or whether they should introduce a system by representation. The columnist inclined towards the latter option.¹⁷

Therefore, the introduction of classical republicanism in the style of the United States into the Rio de la Plata (at least, Buenos Aires) was not due to the absence of a republican tradition in Spanish America. Instead, it was a contested decision, revealing the presence of competing discourses of republicanism. It is necessary first to outline the concept of republic in circulation around the end of the eighteenth century, before addressing the explosion of meanings unleashed by the crisis of the Spanish monarchy and the wars of independence. In this section important sources include dictionaries, textbooks and grammars, and legal treatises.

Already since the Spanish conquest local communities and Indian nations in particular had been described as republics. In her study of classical reception in the Andes, MacCormack argued that the republican heritage of the colonial period was discernible in chronicles such as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609), which in turn fed into independence movements.¹⁸ Her genealogy of republican thought from the conquest to independence was not very developed, but if we focus on the *vocabulary* of republican thought, then MacCormack's work is valuable because it highlighted the pervasive use of the term 'republic' throughout colonial Spanish America. Sandra Gustafson also noted that 'the languages and ideals of republicanism had a long history in Spanish America', though she did not demonstrate *how* this republican tradition was played out in the independence movements.¹⁹

Colonial chronicles suggest that 'republic' was initially used by the conquistadors to describe the Indian communities they encountered. The term persisted especially in connection to native populations; Peramás had after all compared the Guaraní missions to Plato's *Republic*. Spanish colonial law developed the concept of two co-existing republics: the *República de Indios* and the *República de Españoles*. Ultimately both depended on the king, but on a local

¹⁷ *La Gazeta de Buenos Aires. Extraordinaria* (5 July 1816).

¹⁸ MacCormack, *On the wings of time*, 58.

¹⁹ Sandra Gustafson, 'Between Cicero and Augustine: Religion and Republicanism in the Americas and Beyond' in Stephanie Kirk and Sarah Rivett, eds., *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 253.

level retained their own authorities, institutions and customs.²⁰ In the seventeenth century the Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, who had lived for almost twenty years in Lima, explained that both republics, of Indians and Spaniards, had united in spiritual and temporal matters, forming one body. In his *Política Indiana* (1648), an expanded and translated version of his *Disputationem de Indiarum iure* (1629), Solórzano y Pereira defined the republic as a mystical body, relying on biblical, classical and scholastic authors:

Because according to the doctrine of Plato, Aristoteles, Plutarch, and those that follow them, out of all these offices the Republic forms one body, composed of many men, as of many members that help and support each other. Among them, shepherds, workers and other mechanic offices are called feet; others the arms, and others still the fingers of the same Republic, all of these being necessary, each in their ministry, as the Apostle Saint Paul tells us in grave and holy manner.²¹

The metaphor of the republic as a human body, he adds, was used by countless authors, including Thomas Aquinas; a body needs feet as much as hands and head. Thus, the Spaniards need Indians, and viceversa. As an extended example Solórzano y Pereira presented the patrician-plebeian conflicts of ancient Rome, or what is known as the First Secession of the plebs (494 B.C.), when disgruntled plebeians withdrew from Rome and went to Mons Sacer.²² In a dramatic flourish, Solórzano y Pereira related that the plebeians' secession threatened to topple the entire Roman Republic, and that it was only the elegant speech of Menenius Agrippa that persuaded them to return - a speech that compared the republic to the

²⁰ Abelardo Levaggi, 'República de Indios y República de Españoles en los Reinos de Indias', in *Revista de estudios históricos-jurídicos* no. 23 (Buenos Aires: 2001): 419-428.

²¹ Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, *Política Indiana Sacada en lengua castellana* 2.6 [1648, 88]: 'Porque según la dotrina de Platon, Aristoteles, Plutarco, i los que los siguen, de todos estos oficios haze la Republica un cuerpo, compuesto de muchos hombres, como de muchos miembros, que se ayudan, i sobrellevan unos à otros: entre los quales, à los Pastores, Labradores, i otros oficiales mecanicos, vnos los llaman pies, y otros bazo, otros dedos de la mesma Republica, siendo todos en ella forçosos, i necesarios, cada uno en su ministerio, como grave, i santamente nos lo dà a entender el Apostol San Pablo.' Cf. *Corinthians* 12. 12.

²² Mons Sacer (Monte Sacro) is also significant as the site of Simon Bolívar's alleged oath to liberate his native land. For a discussion of the sources and classical motifs in the oath see Homero A. Calderón Rondón, 'Una reflexión más sobre el juramento de Bolívar en el monte sacro', in *Homenaje a Bolívar* [Boletín GIESHAM 4, no. 7-8] (Mérida, Venezuela: Universidad de los Andes, 2006).

human body.²³ Solórzano y Pereira concluded that the Roman episode ‘contains all of political science, and is mentioned infinitely by ancient and modern authors’, including Livy and Seneca.²⁴

In Europe the analogy of the body-politic was a commonplace in political writing during the Early Modern period, and the term ‘republic’ could simply denote the state.²⁵ As a ‘mystical body’, the Church held the title of the perfect republic. This language fed into theories about secular governments. Francisco Suárez (1548-1617), arguably the most famous Jesuit theologian, defined the republic as a mystical community, a ‘moral union of wills’ characterised by order and union.²⁶ The theory of mediate derivation of authority, accepted by all Jesuits, stipulated that authority came ultimately from God but that civil authority inhered in the republic, which decided on its form of government.²⁷ In this light, a republic could take the form of a monarchy, aristocracy or democracy. In addition, as a ‘mystical body’, the Suárez-Solórzano concept of republic vested it with an almost sacred character, so that in the eighteenth century Ibero-American world, the concept of republic continued to work within a triad of dimensions (moral, religious and political). Definitions provided in dictionaries help illustrate this further.

The *Diccionario de Autoridades* holds special importance as the first dictionary by the Real Academia Española, published in six volumes between 1726 and 1739. The authors of the *Diccionario de Autoridades* aimed to define and standardise the most commonly used words in Spanish, which they illustrated

²³ Cf. Liv. 2.32. In Livy’s version Menenius Agrippa’s metaphor of the body emphasises the central role of patricians, represented by the belly, which does receive all nourishment but provides the blood that keeps other body parts alive.

²⁴ Solórzano y Pereira, *Política Indiana* 2.7 [1648, 90]: ‘*De la qual historia, i de que en este Apologo se encierra toda la ciencia POLitica, hazen frequente mencion infinitos Autores Antiguos, i Modernos.*’

²⁵ Cf. Giovanni Botero’s *Della ragion di stato* (1589), 170 [Book 7 ‘Del soccorso della Chiesa’]: ‘*Il valersi d’una parte de’frutti è cosa, e per lo più tollerabile al Clero; e spesse volte necessaria alla Republica: il che si è visto nell’ultime guerre di Francia, nelle quali il Clero ha in gran parte sostenuto la spesa con più di venti milioni di scudi, contribuiti al Re...*’ (‘The use that can be made of tithes is one reason to tolerate the clergy more, and is often necessary for the republic. This was seen in the last war of France, in which the clergy sustained a great part of the expenses by contributing more than twenty thousand *scudi* to the king’).

²⁶ Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 248-253.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 227.

with references to authors who wrote ‘with the most propriety and elegance’.²⁸ These authorities included Spanish-born authors, but not exclusively, as demonstrated by the inclusion of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega.²⁹ Moreover, this dictionary is listed in the inventory of the library of the exiled Jesuits of Asunción inherited by the Colegio de San Carlos. The dictionary may thus serve as an entry point into possible meanings of ‘republic’ which circulated in colonial Paraguay.

The fifth volume provided three definitions of ‘republic’. The first definition stated that a republic is ‘the government of the public, used today for the government of many, as opposed to a monarchy’.³⁰ As an example the dictionary referred to the authority of Diego de Saavedra’s mirror for princes, *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano, representada en cien empresas* (1640): ‘government is different in each of the three forms of republic, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy.’ The second definition alluded to the moral dimension of ‘republic’: ‘it also refers to the public, common cause or its utility’.³¹ The third definition made the connection between religion and politics, explaining that ‘by extension, [republic] is also used to refer to some communities’, and gave the example of the apostolic Christian churches as perfect republics.³² Gabriel di Meglio noticed that the 1803 edition added a fourth definition: ‘a state in which the people partly govern themselves, and partly by means of a few chosen citizens’.³³ The number of definitions highlights the flexibility of the concept of republic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

²⁸ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las frases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes . . . compuesta por la Academia Española* (Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco Del Hierro, 1726-1739), Prologue 11.

²⁹ The explanation of abbreviations in Volume 1 reads as a canon of Spanish Golden Age literature, which included several Jesuits (Acosta, Ribadeneira, Molina, Nieremberg) as well as authors who had spent time in the Americas (Ercilla, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Juan de Palafox, Gonzalo de Oviedo, etc.).

³⁰ REPÚBLICA: s.f. *el gobierno del público. Oy se dice del gobierno de muchos, como distinto del gobierno Monárquico*. SAAV. Empr. 66 [Diego de Saavedra y Fajardo, *Empresas Políticas*]: ‘Porque en cada una de las tres formas de República Monarchía, Aristocracia y Democracia, son diversos los gobiernos.’

³¹ REPÚBLICA: *Se toma tambien por la causa pública, el común o su utilidad*. PULG. Chron. del Gran Capit. lib. 1. cap. 12. [Hernando del Pulgár: *Crónica del Gran Capitán*, 1527]: ‘Fueronles confiscados y publicados todos sus bienes, y juzgados por traidores y enemigos de la República’.

³² REPÚBLICA: *Por extensión se llaman tambien algunos Pueblos*. PUENT. Conven. lib. 2. cap. 36. §. 1. [Fray Juan de la Puente, *Conveniencia de las dos Monarchías*, 1612]: ‘Fundó cada Apostol su Iglésia, como queda declarado, fornando una perfecta República.’

³³ Di Meglio, ‘República’, 145.

The definitions of the *Diccionario de Autoridades* show that ‘republic’ provided an anti-monarchical alternative long before independence. The first definition in particular contained a crucial clarification between the traditional meaning of republic as the body-politic and as it was ‘used today’, i.e., in early eighteenth-century Spain. That is, contemporary use applied ‘republic’ to ‘the government of many, *as opposed to a monarchy*’. ‘Republic’ had always carried the connotation of being anti-monarchical; in Roman history the period known as the Republic had followed the overthrow of the Etruscan kings in 509 BC, and the assassins of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. presented themselves as saviours of the Republic.

The event which seems to have established ‘republic’ as opposed to absolutist monarchy in Early Modern Europe was the English Civil War, which fed into works by the radical thinkers of the Enlightenment after 1730. For instance, in Book 11 of *The Spirit of Laws* (1748), Montesquieu compared England and Rome, concluding that England was more just and self-correcting because they had an independent judiciary that secured the political and personal liberty of citizens.³⁴ Moreover, in Montesquieu’s works ‘republic’ became an umbrella term to refer to any ancient polity, including Athens, Sparta and Rome.³⁵ The term therefore carried anti-monarchic and classical connotations on both sides of the Atlantic.

Yet republican government was not necessarily preferable to monarchy, nor were ancient polities shining examples to imitated. In fact, for Montesquieu antiquity provided negative models because of the failure of its regimes; although the Athenians had possessed commercial and civic virtues, including patriotism and love of equality, they had failed to make sacrifices in war. Rome had committed ‘civic suicide’ in its expansion, as explained in Montesquieu’s *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence* (1734). A 1788 Spanish dictionary reflected a similar critical view of ancient polities: ‘the most flourishing republics of antiquity were those of Athens, Rome

³⁴ Judith Shklar, ‘Montesquieu and the new republicanism’ in Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner and Maurizio Viroli, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 269.

³⁵ Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy* (London/New York: Tauris, 2010), 24.

and Sparta; the rest were ruined and consumed themselves in civil wars.’³⁶ Enlightenment treatment of antiquity was not straightforward. The very zeal of the ancients for liberty and their passion in the public forum could be used to criticise their supposedly uncontrollable passion for civil strife. In this respect the republican tradition of Spanish America must be seen as in conversation with the Enlightenment in Europe.

Eighteenth-century French authors were probably read in colonial Rio de la Plata, albeit surreptitiously. For instance, in 1785 a professor at the University of Córdoba recorded that his student Antonio Esquerreneá ‘is very addicted to new doctrines; may God prevent that books from the Low Countries, the North or even some libertine Frenchmen ever fall into his hands.’³⁷ But one need not look for a republican underground; a number of accepted texts discussed republics, especially classical and legal works.

Among the Latin grammars held in the library of Asunción, the 1750 *Gramática Lacónica* of Ignacio del Campo taught that the Latin verb ‘vindico’ could be used in the construction of the phrase ‘to return the Republic to its liberty’: *Rempublicam in libertatem vindicare*.³⁸ ‘Vindicare’ here meant ‘to free’, specifically, ‘to free someone from oppression’ (*aliquem à molestia*). The brief explanation of the construction did not specify the kind of grief that could oppress a republic, so a student reading the abbreviated construction could come to several conclusions, including that the republic is freed from oppression by factions, but perhaps also from a tyrant’s oppression. The phrase was famously used in the opening sentence of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (c. 14 A.D.), an autobiographical celebration of the deeds of Augustus.³⁹ Commentators of the *Res Gestae* concur

³⁶ Esteban de Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes en las tres lenguas francesa, Latina e italiana...* Vol. 3 (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Ibarra, hijos y Compañía 1788), 351: ‘*REPÚBLICA. se llama la que tiene un gobierno popular. Las Repúblicas más florecientes de la antigüedad fueron las de Atenas, Roma, y Esparta; las demás se arruinaron en sí mismas consumidas con guerras civiles.*’ Cf. Chapter 4 note 71.

³⁷ Qtd. in Silvano Benito Moya, *Reformismo e Ilustración. Los Borbones en la Universidad de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Centro de Estudios Históricos “Prof. Carlos S.A. Segreti”, 2000), 136-137: ‘*Es muy adicto a doctrinas nuevas. Dios lo libre de que le caigan en las manos libros de los Países Bajos, o del Norte, y también los de algunos libertinos franceses.*’

³⁸ Ignacio del Campo, *Gramática Lacónica*, 97.

³⁹ The emperor claimed that he had raised a private army in 44 B.C. ‘to return the republic, oppressed by the domination of factions, to its liberty’: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi*. The *RGDA* here seemed to echo Cicero, who had praised the

that by the late republican period the phrase was a cliché and may simply have been a conventional way of stating that ‘I worked for the public good’.⁴⁰

Like in ancient Rome, ‘republic’ in Spanish America before and after independence was embedded in institutionalised language. In official documentation of the colonial period ‘republic’ mostly referred to cities and their jurisdiction. In a study of the concept of ‘republic’ in the Rio de la Plata until the 1850s – though restricted to modern Argentina and Uruguay – the Argentine historian Gabriel Di Meglio noted that the *cabildos* of Buenos Aires and Córdoba began each session with a formula stating that they would make decisions which were ‘convenient for this republic and its inhabitants.’⁴¹ The term here alluded to a specific territory. The *cabildo* of Asunción also equated ‘republic’ with a territory in 1759 when it requested the Jesuits to found a chair of Scholastic Theology of at their college ‘so that the youth of this Republic could study and graduate with less cost than going to Córdoba or another city.’⁴² Significantly, at the 1811 convention where Paraguayans decided to establish an autonomous government, ‘republic’ made its only appearance in this guise of city-state. Thus, when José Mariano Careaga offered in the name of his ‘republic’ of Villarrica to send a representative to a provincial congress led by Buenos Aires, he was appealing to a long tradition of referring to local communities as ‘republics’.⁴³

Di Meglio also observed that often co-existing with the previous definition was a moral dimension, that is, the notion of ‘republic’ as a public cause. For instance, the *cabildo* of Córdoba spoke of wheat as ‘the nerve of the republic . . . for in its abundance lies the public utility and public welfare, which is the supreme law’.⁴⁴ This harks back to the second definition of the dictionary of 1737: ‘it also

young Augustus for raising his own army and thus preventing the rise of the Mark Antony as a tyrant. Cf.: Cic. *Phil.*3.5.

⁴⁰ Alison Cooley, *Res gestae divi Augusti: text, translation, and commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 107-109; Chaim Wirszubski, *Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968 [1950]), 100-106. Cooley added that in a technical sense *vindicatio in libertatem* referred to the juridical act of freeing slaves. This implied that Mark Antony had been acting like a *dominus* or master of slaves (*RGDA*, 108-109).

⁴¹ Di Meglio, ‘República’, 145-146.

⁴² AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337: ‘*que la juventud de esta República tuviese aquí la comodidad de poder estudiar, y graduarse con menos costo que yendo a Córdoba o a otra ciudad.*’

⁴³ ANA, SH Vol. 213 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 1, p. 130].

⁴⁴ Di Meglio, ‘República’, 146.

refers to the public, common cause or its utility.’ At Asunción, the rector of the Jesuit college, Antonio Miranda, recorded in 1762 the death of a Father Francisco Bautista⁴⁵ who had been collecting information ‘to be useful to Religion and the Republic’ by writing a history of the province.⁴⁶ If ‘*vindicatio in libertatem*’ was a Roman catchword vaguely denoting that one served the public good, being ‘useful for the Republic’ seems to have been an eighteenth century equivalent.⁴⁷

1809-1816: Imagining ‘republic’ in Buenos Aires and the Rio de la Plata

The crisis of authority in Spain that ensued after the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 and the removal of Ferdinand VII marked a turning point in the republican discourse of the Rio de la Plata.⁴⁸ While a guerrilla war began in Spain against Napoleon, with the support of the British troops under Wellington, Spanish Americans faced the option of accepting the claims of several pretenders: the deposed Ferdinand VII, kept under close guard in France, Joseph Bonaparte, Carlota Joaquina (the daughter of Charles IV, and Queen Consort of Portugal), or a general council called the *Junta Central* based in Seville. ‘Republic’ made its first appearance as a possible form of government not in works by proponents of republican government, but by critics such as Pedro Vicente Cañete, whose role will be clarified in what follows below.

1809 was an eventful year filled with short-lived uprisings. After the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, conflicts erupted in Spanish America between local

⁴⁵ B. 1696 Córdoba (Spain); d. 1762 Asunción (CJPP no. 164/940).

⁴⁶ AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337.

⁴⁷ Scholarship on the concept of utility is vast and a survey cannot be attempted here. On its widespread diffusion see José Enrique Covarrubias, *En busca del hombre útil: Un estudio comparativo del utilitarismo neomercantilista en México y Europa, 1748-1833* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005). On ‘useful knowledge’ in connection to imperial governance and the Scientific Revolution in the Iberian context see Maria Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). *Utilitas* was also a prominent theme of Peramás’ *Laudationes Quinque*, discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴⁸ For narratives of independence in Spanish America see John Lynch, *The Spanish American revolutions, 1808-1826* (New York: Norton, 1986 [1973]); Anthony McFarlane, *War and Independence in Spanish America* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2014).

governing bodies over the question of legitimate authority, including in the Rio de la Plata. In 1809 creoles in Upper Peru and Quito established local councils or *juntas*, but troops from Peru quickly quashed the insurgencies. At the same time, peninsular Spaniards of Buenos Aires attempted to establish a *junta* with the only clear objective of removing Viceroy Santiago Liniers, the hero of the defense against the British invasions of Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807. The coup failed and Liniers regained the support of the creole militia. Nevertheless, these events led to the appointment of Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros as the new viceroy by the Junta Central. Liniers retired from politics and went to Córdoba. He would re-emerge onto the political scene in 1810, when he joined an ill-fated royalist counter-revolution against the May revolutionaries of Buenos Aires, for which he was captured and executed without trial.

Liniers had a powerful supporter in the person of Pedro Vicente Cañete, who was shocked by the insurgencies and who embraced the royalist cause. A graduate of the universities of Córdoba and Santiago de Chile, Cañete was one of the most successful creoles born in Asunción. He worked as legal advisor to the governor-intendant of Paraguay Pedro Melo de Portugal in the 1780s, and by 1809 had settled in Potosí and become an officer of the Audiencia of Charcas. In his *Carta consultiva apologética* of 1809, a defense of Liniers against his enemies, Cañete explicitly criticised the *junta* of Montevideo for acting as if the city were a sovereign republic.⁴⁹ First, Cañete compared Liniers to Scipio Africanus Major (236-183 B.C.), the Roman general who defeated Hannibal and was loved by the Roman plebs, but retired from politics after being unfairly accused of bribery and treason by envious patricians. In two parallel speeches, Cañete had both Scipio and Liniers explain how they had saved their people and lament their unfair trial. Both nevertheless praised the greatness of their *patria* and finished with an exhortation to the people to pray to the god(s) for such loyal leaders as they had been themselves.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Pedro Vicente Cañete, *Carta Consultiva Apologética de los procedimientos del Excmo. Señor Virrey Don Santiago Liniers, sobre las ocurrencias de la Junta de gobierno establecida en la Ciudad de Montevideo...* (Buenos Aires: En la Real Imprenta de Niños Expósitos: 1809).

⁵⁰ Cañete, *Carta Consultiva Apologética*, 11-12.

In the rest of the letter Cañete discussed his negative view of republics. What had worked for Rome would not work if *juntas* decided to act like republics; indeed the very example of Scipio showed that ancient republics were prone to vices and that they treated virtuous citizens unfairly. The key element for Cañete was the danger of popular assemblies. Republican Rome ‘had not fixed the number of citizens that would form the democratic element, which led to its ruin because of the intrigues and bribes that so often resulted in tumults.’⁵¹ The other ‘enlightened’ republics he discussed (Sparta, England and Venice), had succeeded because they had limited the number or access of citizens to government and thus reduced the risk of corruption. The practice of open assemblies or *cabildos abiertos* was thus too anarchic for Cañete. Citing the sixteenth-century Spanish jurist Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla’s *Política para corregidores* (1597) Cañete argued that open assemblies were no longer needed nor used in populous cities ‘because administrators (*regidores*) represented the people and all the parts of the Republic’.⁵²

One notices here the ease with which Cañete moved between ‘republic’ in the traditional sense of polity or ‘mystical body’ and ‘republic’ as a form of government with a democratic component. Cañete had good reason to desire the suppression of *cabildos abiertos*: they were the main instrument used in the insurgencies of 1809 and 1810 to establish autonomous *juntas*. For Cañete the situation in Spain (‘a Nation without head’) validated the establishment of *juntas*, but not in the overseas territories of America, where legitimate representation of sovereignty still existed in the form of the viceregal authorities and institutions.⁵³ Perhaps the most fascinating part of the letter is a section where he imagined the logical consequences of the actions of the *junta* of Montevideo. That is, a city

⁵¹ Ibid., 16: ‘[E]n la República romana, donde por no haberse fixado el numero de los ciudadanos que debian formar la parte democrática, al cabo se ocasionó su ruina por causa de las intrigas y sobornos, que originaron tumultos tan repetidos.’

⁵² Cañete, *Carta Consultiva Apologética*, 16-17: ‘Es conforme al derecho público, según la autoridad del sabio Bobadilla en su política, lib. 3 cap. 8 no. 18 y 19, que ya no es menester, ni se usa en las ciudades populosas el hacer Cabildo abierto (que así se llama la congregación de todo el vecindario) porque los Regidores representan al pueblo, y todos los estados de la Republica, y tienen el poder de ella para todas las cosas que le tocan y convienen, sin que sea necesario consejo abierto para ello.’

⁵³ Ibid., 18-19.

governed by a *junta* independently of any other authority might as well be called a republic:

If by any chance the *junta*, by means of its title as Supreme, would also be independent of the head of the viceroyalty and the Royal Audiencia [of Charcas], then so much the worse for them. For Montevideo would then come to constitute a sovereign Republic isolated in a small canton of the beaches of the Rio de la Plata, forming by itself the representation of sovereignty with more vices than benefits to achieve the objectives of its establishment.⁵⁴

What Cañete imagined with dread was first suggested in 1811. The French advance had made the Junta Central retreat to Cadiz, where it dissolved itself and gave way to the Council of Regency. In Caracas, a *cabildo abierto* established its own *junta* in April 1810 to rule technically in the name of Ferdinand VII, denying that the Council of Regency could exert legitimate authority over the American colonies. A constitution approved in February of 1811 proposed a confederation of provinces of Venezuela, where each province would retain a ‘republican government’ for its domestic administration.⁵⁵ Using the adjective ‘republican’ rather than ‘republic’, this usage of the word referred to the territoriality of the concept and its emphasis on autonomous government. No details specified how this ‘republican government’ would actually work, which may have prompted Francisco de Miranda’s written reservation at the end of the document that the structure and organisation of the constitution was not clear or simple.⁵⁶ Known as the ‘First Republic’, the Venezuelan confederacy broke down in 1812 due to internal dissensions. Also, the French were expelled from Spain in 1813 and most of the South American regions came under restored Spanish rule. It was the only the independence wars under Simon Bolivar and José de San Martin that

⁵⁴ Ibid., 15-16: ‘*Si acaso la Junta por el titulo de Suprema ha de ser también independiente del xefe del vireynato, y del Tribunal de la Real Audiencia, sería otro tanto peor; pues vendría a constituirse Montevideo como una República Soberana aislada en un pequeño canton de las playas del Rio de la Plata, formando por sí sola la representación de la Soberanía con muchos más vicios que ventajas para los fines de su establecimiento.*’

⁵⁵ *Constitución Federal de los Estados de Venezuela, 21 de diciembre de 1811*, Chapter 5, Section 4, Article 133: ‘El Gobierno de la Unión asegura y garantiza a las Provincias la forma de Gobierno Republicano que cada una de ellas adoptare para la administración de sus negocios domésticos.’

⁵⁶ *Constitución Federal*, ‘Protesta por parte de Francisco de Miranda’: ‘*[E]n la presente Constitución los Poderes no se hallan en el justo equilibrio, ni la estructura u organización general suficientemente sencilla y clara, para que pueda ser permanente...*’

eventually brought about the complete defeat of the Spanish in 1825. Independence did not immediately amount to self-rule for most of the American provinces, except in the Rio de la Plata.

Buenos Aires deposed the viceroy Santiago de Cisneros in the May Revolution of 1810, but a discussion of the form of government to be adopted did not actually take place until 1827 due to the wars of independence and conflict between factions.⁵⁷ An attempt to formally establish a republic came instead from the *cabildo* of the small city of Jujuy in 1811, requesting that it be separated from the *intendencia* or administrative unit of Salta (northern Argentina). Their argument was that sovereignty had returned to the people: ‘if the peoples that constitute the Spanish Nation, lacking their beloved king Don Fernando, are authorised by Nature to recover the rights they had deposited in him, then Jujuy could be considered a small Republic which governs itself.’⁵⁸

A more famous call for republican government came from José Artigas, the revolutionary leader of the Bando Oriental (Uruguay) and the most forceful proponent of federalism against the centralising efforts of Buenos Aires. At a general convention of ex-provinces of the viceroyalty in 1813, representatives of the Bando Oriental proposed a confederation to be guaranteed by a ‘constitution that would grant the United Provinces a form of republican government.’⁵⁹ These attempts at confederation however did not materialise and instead the Rio de la Plata would be wracked by civil wars, while Artigas himself ended up in exile in Paraguay after 1820.

Although Buenos Aires lacked a self-declared republican government, its newspapers at the time show that republican language became especially strong there during the wars of independence. Republican language was used to highlight military virtue and patriotism, as soldiers were encouraged to imitate Brutus the tyrannicide and other heroes of Republican Rome. One example is found in an

⁵⁷ Di Meglio, ‘República’, 147.

⁵⁸ ‘El Cabildo de Jujuy a la Junta de Buenos Aires’, quoted in Di Meglio, ‘República’, 146: ‘*si los pueblos que constituyen la Nación española; por carecer de su amado Rey Don Fernando, se hallan autorizados por la misma Naturaleza, para recobrar los derechos que depositaron en el [Jujuy podría] ‘ser reputada como una pequena republica que se gobierna a si misma.’*

⁵⁹ ‘Instrucciones a los representantes del Pueblo Oriental para el desempeño de su encargo en la Asamblea Constituyente fijada en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires’ (13/4/1813), quoted in Di Meglio, ‘República’, 148.

1812 issue of the revolutionary newspaper *La Gazeta de Buenos Aires* (1810-1821), whose editors included Nicolás de Herrera (the same who later dismissed the Paraguayan republican experiment). *La Gazeta* announced its subject-matter and affinity with antiquity by means of an epigraph taken from the Roman historian Tacitus: ‘the rare happiness of times when we may think what we please and say what we think.’⁶⁰ In a note the editor praised the ‘republican pride’ of General Eustaquio Díaz Vélez and in his troops at the Battle of Nazareno (12 January 1812) in Upper Peru. Pitted against both a royalist army and a sudden rise in the river Suipacha, Nazareno became a disastrous affair for the revolutionary army of Díaz Vélez. This extreme situation prompted a patriotic outburst of the editor of *La Gazeta*: ‘They fight no longer out of love for the public good, but because they have sworn eternal revenge against the enemies of our land . . . while the enemy loses confidence seeing that obstacles will not humble our troops’ republican pride.’⁶¹ ‘Republican’ here essentially meant anti-monarchist.

Similarly, José Mariluz Urquijo’s survey of newspapers in Buenos Aires shows vociferous propaganda claiming Greece and Rome to be ‘the greatest, most virtuous and wisest’ republics worthy of imitation. An 1816 article in *El Observador Americano* encouraged studying Roman history ‘in order to justly apply those readings to our situation.’ Nevertheless, doubts on the applicability of ancient exempla started to appear. In 1816 an article in *La Crónica Argentina* rebelled against the overwhelming republican language of the time and criticised those who would see appropriate models only in antiquity when there were more contemporary models. Yet the same author resorted to a host of Greco-Roman examples to explain his position.⁶² Significantly, around this time the Tacitus epigraph disappears from *La Gazeta*. Republican language did not always go hand in hand with desires of implementing republican political programmes.

⁶⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 1.1: ‘*Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias, dicere licet.*’

⁶¹ *La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres, Extraordinaria* (8 February 1812).

⁶² Mariluz Urquijo, ‘El Río de la Plata y el ambivalente modelo de Roma (1800-1820)’, 11-30.

1811: Articulating self-government in Paraguay

As seen in the previous section, ‘republic’ was not a new notion imported from the French Enlightenment or Atlantic revolutions to solve the problem of sovereignty. The innovation after 1809 was, as Di Meglio suggested, the embryonic association between the ideal of a republic and the possibility of having it as an effective form of government.⁶³ This section argues that in Buenos Aires discussion of the government to be adopted was always delayed, so that ‘republic’ remained on the level of patriotic language, while in Paraguay it was explicitly made the cornerstone of the quest for self-government in 1813. The association of ‘republic’ and ‘consul’ in 1813, and with ‘dictator’ in 1814 was thus unequivocally an attempt to set up a form of government based on a Roman model, which was both anti-monarchic in nature and affirmed American identity against Europeans. In 1811 however, the main concern was to justify self-government.

Paraguayans at first refused to join Buenos Aires’ revolution, so that it seemed poised to become a loyalist enclave in the heart of South America. In fact, Manuel Belgrano’s military expedition to Paraguay ended in defeat in March 1811, when a militia of 6000 ill-armed Paraguayan men defeated the troops of Belgrano.⁶⁴ However, the governor Bernardo de Velasco and his peninsular staff had fled during the first battle at Paraguarí when they believed the Paraguayan centre had collapsed, so that it was the creole officers who rallied the militia and carried the victory. As a result, Velasco lost his good reputation among the creole officer corps, while the war and massive mobilisation ruined provincial finances. On 15 May 1811 the garrisons revolted in a quick bloodless coup. A provisional government composed of the humiliated Velasco and two adjunct officers (Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia and Captain Juan Valeriano de Zeballos) summoned a general convention to gather for three days from 17 to 20 June. They

⁶³ Di Meglio, ‘República’, 148.

⁶⁴ For details on the Belgrano expedition of 1810-1811 and its consequences, see especially Blas Garay, *La Revolución de la Independencia del Paraguay* (Asunción, Paraguay: El Lector, 1996 [1896].); John Hoyt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800-1870*, 24-28. Garay argued that Velasco’s propaganda helped prepare the grounds for independence.

did not call it a *cabildo abierto* but a *junta general*, for attendees included 265 invited deliberators, six representatives from the towns of the interior, and any clergy, military officials, and inhabitants of Asunción invited by the May revolutionaries. Voting followed a procedure advocated by Francia of voting from the lowest to highest seats in the room. This ensured that Mariano Antonio Molas, at the time an ally of Francia, spoke first, and the secular and ecclesiastical authorities last.

The documents of the Paraguayan independence of 1811 show no plan to implement a republican government: the avowed concern was to justify autonomy from Buenos Aires even more than from the Spanish king, to whom Paraguayan creoles still asserted their loyalty. The points of business were to dismiss Velasco and the peninsular-filled *cabildo*, establish a temporary form of government, and decide how to deal with Buenos Aires. With very few dissenting opinions, the convention approved the vote set forth by Molas. First, it decided to permanently dismiss Velasco. Moreover, all Europeans were henceforth barred from holding offices. Adding insult to injury, any ‘americano’ even if not born in Paraguay could apply for offices. Second, a *Junta Superior* of five members was created, which included the military commanders Fulgencio Yegros, Pedro Juan Caballero and Fernando de la Mora, the priest Francisco Javier Bogarín, and Doctor Francia. The convention suspended any recognition of the Council of Regency or any other representative authority. Finally, the convention also expressed its interest in maintaining good relations with Buenos Aires, and elected Doctor Francia as its representative at the forthcoming congress of the ‘United Provinces’ of the Rio de la Plata.⁶⁵

As well as justifying autonomy from Buenos Aires, these measures laid the foundations for Francia’s radical republic by targeting Spaniards. The figure of Francia appeared in a leading role in the June convention, where he seems to have delivered the opening speech. Francia’s preferred terms were ‘patria’ and ‘province’, while ‘republic’ did not appear at all. Francia began his speech with the exultation that the province had shaken off slavery and recovered its rights. Then he reminded the convention that they should seek the common good. He

⁶⁵ ANA SH Vol. 213 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 1, pp. 112-115].

warned against those who ‘forget the true happiness and greatness of our Patria’ and could destroy their new-found liberty by calumnies and seeking personal interest.

Subordinating private interest to the common good constituted a republican commonplace which went back to Cicero and according to Rousseau’s *Social Contract* it was an important condition for the operation of a political pact. Also Rousseauian was Francia’s statement at the end of the speech that the decision to establish a Junta was an expression of the people’s will: ‘the people have explained and declared its will.’ Notably absent was an explicit articulation of a concept of ‘republic’, though this does not mean Francia did not have it in mind. Like the *cabildo* of Jujuy, Francia’s argument of self-government was grounded in nature, and that authority resides in and could revert to the people:

Nature has not made men essentially subject to the perpetual yoke of any civil authority: rather before made all equal and free with full Right. If they ceded their natural independence by creating chiefs and magistrates and submitting to them for the sake of their own happiness and security; this authority must be considered returned to them, or indeed remains in the People, in so far as required by these goals. The contrary would be destructive for the society itself and against the intention of those who had established it.⁶⁶ Weapons and force can suffocate these rights but not extinguish them, so that natural Rights are imprescriptible, especially by violent and oppressive means.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ This language is reminiscent of the Jesuits Bellarmine and Suárez, who had roused the anger of James I of England by arguing that the absolute authority of kings did not derive immediately from God and that it was sometimes lawful to resist a tyrannical king. That residual power resided in the republic was a scholastic commonplace already in Aquinas, whom the two Jesuits cited, in addition to Soto and Azpilcueta. Cf. Bellarmine, *Recognitio* Book 3: ‘*Navarrus... non dubitat a affirmare, numquam populum ita potestatem suam in Regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, vt incertis casibus etiam actu recipere possit*’: ‘Navarrus [Azpilcueta] affirmed that the people never transfers its power to the King without retaining it in potency (*in habitu*) or in certain cases actually (*in actu*); Suárez, *Defensio Fidei* 6.4: ‘*semper hic casus ad propriam reipublicae conseruationem necessarius*’: ‘In this case it is necessary [to resist] for the sake of the conservation of the republic.’ See Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 224-262.

⁶⁷ ANA SH Vol. 213 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro, Vol. 1, pp. 108-109]: ‘*La naturaleza no ha criado á los hombres esencialmente sugetos al yugo perpetuo de ninguna autoridad civil: antes bien hizo á todos iguales y libres de pleno Derecho. Si cedieron de su natural independencia creando sus Xefes y Magistrados, y sometiendo á ellos por los fines de su propia felicidad y seguridad: Esta autoridad debe considerarse devuelta, ó mas bien permanente en el Pueblo, siempre que esos mismos fines lo exijan. Lo contrario seria destructivo dela sociedad misma y contra la intencion general delos mismos que la habian establecido. Las armas y la fuerza pueden muy bien sofocar y tener como ahogados estos Derechos, pero no extinguirlos; por lo que los Derechos naturales son imprescriptibles especialmente por unos medios violentos y opresivos.*’

Francia did not so much justify self-government as encourage the *junta* to consider the future. He grandly asserted that there was no longer any obvious representative of supreme authority. Echoing the words of Cañete, Francia solemnly declared that sovereignty had effectively disappeared: ‘La soberanía ha desaparecido en la Nación.’⁶⁸ The main goal of the junta should now be to decide on how to govern the province. Francia asserted that ‘the ground has been cleared; it is now time to cultivate it, sowing the seeds of our future prosperity.’ For this Francia called on Paraguayans to learn from two sources: the memory of their past afflictions under colonial rule, and the lessons of contemporary philosophers on society, morals and politics. Significantly, lessons could be learnt from past societies on how *not* to govern:

We do not live in those centuries of ignorance and barbarism, in which many governments were formed casually, rising gradually from the tumult of invasions or civil wars, amidst a multitude of ferocious passions and interests which are contrary to liberty and individual security. At present we are in more favourable circumstances. New lights have been acquired and spread, and all that which is related to the common interest and which contributes towards making men better and happier has been the object of meditation of wise men and public attention.⁶⁹

Francia deplored the ignorance and barbarity of past centuries, their ‘ferocious passions’, and their tendency towards invasions and civil wars.⁷⁰ The theme of civil wars and ferocious passions in Francia’s speech evokes the definition of ‘republic’ in the 1767 *Diccionario castellano*: ‘the most flourishing republics of antiquity were that of Athens, Rome and Sparta; the rest were ruined and consumed themselves in civil wars.’⁷¹ However, Francia made no exceptions for Athens, Rome and Sparta; they all appeared in spite of civil wars - *if* indeed he

⁶⁸ This is the only appearance of the term ‘*nación*’ in the speech, and like Cañete Francia seems to use it to denote a *Spanish* nation.

⁶⁹ ANA SH Vol. 213 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro, Vol. 1, pp. 108-109].

⁷⁰ This is in contrast to Machiavelli, who had presented the conflicts between the Roman Senate and plebs as a necessary step towards the safeguard of liberty. Cf. Machiavelli *Discorsi* 1.4 [1550, 13]: ‘*Io non voglio mancare discorrere sopra questi tumulti che furono in Roma dalla morte de’ Tarquini all’ creatione de’ Tribuni, & dipoi alcune cose contro la opinione di molti che dicono Roma esser stata una Repubblica tumultuaria, & piena di tanta confusione...*’ (‘I will discourse on those tumults in Rome from the death of Tarquin to the creation of the tribunes, and then on some things contrary to the opinions of many who say that Rome was a tumultuous Republic and full of so much confusion.’)

⁷¹ Cf. Chapter 4 note 36.

was referring to ancient societies in his speech. Francia could have been referring generically to a more recent past, distinguishing it from the new lights of a modern age. Nevertheless, the mention of civil wars and invasions evokes antiquity more than anything.

On the whole, Francia's speech insisted on autonomous government and authority emanating from the people, motifs that we might classify as republican. However, 'republic' appeared only once in the 1811 documents, when José Mariano Careaga, the representative of the town of Villarrica, stated that his republic would be happy to send a representative to a provincial congress called by Buenos Aires.⁷² This differs markedly from the next use of the term in 1813, when Francia and Fulgencio Yegros were named 'consuls of the republic'. Throughout these discussions the Romans have been conspicuously absent. The next section argues that when 'consul' appeared alongside 'republic' in 1813 it made the Roman model more immediate and transformed the debate between Asunción and Buenos Aires into one that was partly about the relevance of antiquity.

1812-1814: Articulating 'republic' and the Paraguayan consulate

Like 'republic', the term 'consul' had long been current in the Hispanic world. The second volume of the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1729) provided two definitions. The first was 'the first authority among the Romans during the Republic, who held despotic command in both military and political matters'.⁷³ The second definition of consul referred to its significance in the Spanish empire: 'used today for the person at the sea ports and elsewhere where there is commerce, with the objective of assisting and safeguarding the interests of his Nation'.⁷⁴ The second definition pointed to an institution that shaped economic

⁷² ANA SH Vol. 213 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 1, p. 130].

⁷³ CÓNUL. s. m. *Entre los Romanos, en tiempo de la República, era la primera dignidad, que tenía el despótico mando, así en lo militar como en lo político.*

⁷⁴ CÓNUL. *Se llama oy la persona que en los Puertos de mar, y otras partes donde hai comércio, está destinada para assistir y cuidar de los intereses de su Nación.*

and socio-political relations between the Spanish metropolis and overseas domains during the late colonial period, the *consulado*.

Three *consulados* had dominated Spanish oceanic trade since the sixteenth century: Seville (1542), Mexico City (1594), and Lima (1613). These guilds of merchants arranged fleets, controlled size of cargo and effectively determined the price of goods in America. The eighteenth century saw the emergence of new *consulados* in Caracas and Guatemala (1793), Buenos Aires and Havana (1794), and Cartagena, Santiago de Chile, Guadalajara and Veracruz (1795). In his study of imperial governance in light of the Bourbon reforms of the 1780s and 1790s, Gabriel Paquette argued that the new *consulados* reflected the Crown's intention to placate discontent creoles after the revolts of the 1780s and to erode the power of the established elites in Lima and New Spain, yet still bolster its own objectives - a programme which converged with the interests of new elites such as those in Buenos Aires, who simultaneously managed to manipulate reforms for local purposes. Paquette outlined how these new *consulados* handled professional disputes such as cases of bankruptcy, administration of wills and smuggling, and also showed interest in public works and improving transportation.⁷⁵

Along with *Sociedades Patrióticas* or *Económicas*, quasi-official civil societies founded at about the same time, the new *consulados* became important centres of creation and diffusion of 'useful knowledge'.⁷⁶ For example, it was while working as secretary of Buenos Aires' *consulado* that Manuel Belgrano (1770-1820) translated and summarised authors such as the French economist François du Quesnay.⁷⁷ Conflicts with other colonial officials such as governors and viceroys took place as the ambition and power of the members of *consulados* increased, but they never sought to act independently of the monarchy. Founded in 1801 at the instances of Belgrano, the *Telégrafo Mercantil* reminded creoles of

⁷⁵ Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), especially Chapter 4; Gabriel Paquette, 'State-Civil Society Cooperation and Conflict in the Spanish Empire: The Intellectual and Political Activities of the Ultramarine Consulados and Economic Societies, c. 1780-1810' in *Journal of Latin American History* 39 (2007): 263-29.

⁷⁶ Cf. Chapter 4 note 47.

⁷⁷ Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform*, 137.

the privilege of the *consulado* to appeal to the king regarding economic issues (such as those raised by contraband) heightened by the war with France:

According to the royal order of 1799, if aid is required then the consulates of America may represent to His Majesty whatever is dictated by their obligation and zeal, with the confidence that they will be heard.⁷⁸

Paquette hypothesised the importance of *consulados* in giving creoles some practice at self-government and fomenting creole identity. This was not a society that lacked all practice at self-government:

Ultimately, but by no means immediately, the limited self-determination exercised in Consulados enhanced Creoles' sense of belonging to a separate, perhaps imagined, political community and helped to incubate a vibrant civil society in the primordial polities that replaced the defunct Spanish empire after 1808.⁷⁹

Colonial Buenos Aires had a *consulado*, but landlocked Paraguay did not. When Paraguayan creoles chose to establish a republic led by two consuls in 1813, they specifically appealed to the first, Roman, definition of consul as a supreme magistrate in political and military matters. At the same time, the choice of 'consul' was effectively a snub of the economic primacy claimed by Buenos Aires in the Rio de la Plata. Yet this choice was not made in 1811 or even in 1812 following a step-by-step agenda to secure independence, but arose out of circumstances, especially in relation to the figure of Doctor Francia.

An alumnus of the University of Córdoba and a character of importance in the 1811 convention, Doctor Francia rose to prominence during 1812, as clashes ensued within the *junta* between Francia and the others, particularly Pedro Juan Caballero and Francia's fellow-alumnus of Córdoba, Francisco Javier Bogarín. Francia retired to his country home twice in protest of the power of the military, and he was twice recalled to help deal with the crisis with Buenos Aires. On 13 October 1813 Francia was named one of the two consuls of the Paraguayan

⁷⁸ *Telégrafo Mercantil Rural Político Económico, e Historiógrafo del Rio de la Plata* no. 19 (3 June 1801), p. 150: '*su expresada Real Orden de 20 de abril de 799 que á la letra dice asi . . .*' *si aun estimasen precisos los auxilios del Gobierno, podrian los Consulados de este Reyno, y de los de la America representar a S.M. quanto les dictue su obligacion, y amor; con la confianza que sera atendidos...*

⁷⁹ Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform*, 127.

Republic, along with his distant cousin the general Fulgencio Yegros. A year later Francia became dictator.

Since the early twentieth century Paraguayan historiography has followed the lead of Blas Garay in placing José Gaspar Rodríguez at the centre of the independence and the republican project, but they disagree whether it was the result of an intellectual current or a pragmatic choice.⁸⁰ Pierangelo Catalano identified three sources of inspiration in Francia's ideology: the Enlightenment, the Jesuits and Roman history.⁸¹ For Catalano, the Paraguayan consulate constituted 'the only serious experiment . . . of establishing a republic based on ancient Rome'.⁸² Oscar Paciello, a professor of Law and author of the draft of the Paraguayan Constitution of 1992, analysed Francia's dictatorship in light of Roman law and history, with a section on Rousseau.⁸³ In contrast to these, in an oft cited study of Paraguayan history, John Hoyt Williams argued that Francia's policies were 'devoid of ideology and sophistication [and were mainly to] disarm and render powerless any group or institution capable of posing a threat to him or his policy – in short (by his definition) to Paraguay.'⁸⁴ This interpretation showed Francia as a *caudillo* bent on self-interest. The historian Julio César Chaves considered the consulate a pragmatic temporary solution to the struggle between the Yegros and Francia factions, and proposed by Francia himself.⁸⁵ For these scholars contingency seems as important as agency in discussing Paraguayan independence.

The congress of 1813 was unprecedented in its magnitude, for it was composed of a thousand delegates elected from villas and towns throughout Paraguay. Election and representation were features of the innovative United States' federal system, but in a small land like Paraguay the presence of a thousand delegates still resembled the *cabildo abierto* of the colonial period, as well as the ancient practice of convening popular assemblies. Effectively, this

⁸⁰ Blas Garay, *La Revolución de la Independencia del Paraguay* (Asunción: El Lector, 1996 [1897]).

⁸¹ Pierangelo Catalano, 'Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia', 47-105.

⁸² Catalano, 'Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia', 56.

⁸³ Oscar Paciello, *Inspiración romana en el pensamiento del Doctor Francia* (Asunción: S/E, 1976).

⁸⁴ John Hoyt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800-1870*, 44.

⁸⁵ Julio César Chaves, *El Supremo Dictador* (Asunción: El Lector, 1957), 132-139.

congress constituted a final blow to the Jesuit ideal of two republics, which had been predicated on the separate administration of creole and Indian polities. The ‘people’ supporting the new polity hailed from the whole province, including Asunción and Indian *pueblos*.

Election also determined the choice of the two consuls. The congress voted to disband the current Junta, which by then had been reduced to a triumvirate. Captain Pedro Juan Caballero was removed from office, and the two other members became the two consuls: General Fulgencio Yegros, of an old elite family, and Doctor Francia. The two consuls drafted a document listing sixteen rules of government, which was presented to the congress and approved on 12 October 1813: the *Reglamento de Gobierno*.⁸⁶ First of all, the consuls were entrusted with military powers for ‘the conservation, security and defense of the Republic.’ Two battallions of three or four companies would be formed so that each consul had his own battallion – a measure which gave Francia equal military influence to Yegros and would increase his support base among *mestizos*. In 1816, after being declared perpetual dictator Francia would order that all soldiers be given two pesos paid from his own untouched salary, thus securing the loyalty of the military.⁸⁷

Moreover, the consuls would alternate every four months. They were to open a public tribunal to hold audiences and conduct business of state. They would hold equal jurisdiction and authority in everything, which they should exercise in agreement. The *Reglamento* was careful to clarify that the consul in charge should not be called the ‘president consul’ to ‘avoid the equivocations of which this denomination has been the cause.’ This insistence on the equal jurisdiction of the two consuls could be an implicit rejection of the French Consulate of Napoleon (1799-1804), where the First Consul held most of the executive power. Finally, the document established as a ‘fundamental law’ that in the future there would be an annual General Congress of the Province with the same formality and numbers on the 12 of October, ‘so that the Province could

⁸⁶ ANA SH Vol. 222 No. 3 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 2, pp. 331-335]: Resoluciones del Congreso Supremo en el cual José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia y Fulgencio Yegros son designados Cónsules de la República. Reglamento de Gobierno.

⁸⁷ ANA N.E. Vol 716.

meet at least once a year to discuss as a free and sovereign people on what is most conducive towards the common happiness, to improve the Government if necessary and to curb any abuses.’ Therefore, in comparison to previous proposals of establishing a republican government, such as in the Venezuela constitution of 1811 or Artigas’ proposals in 1813, the Paraguayan *Reglamento de Gobierno* was the first to actually articulate how a republic consisting of a sovereign government over a small territory would function, leading Pierangelo Catalano to call it ‘one of the most original expressions of Latin constitutionalism’.⁸⁸

The *Reglamento de Gobierno* conferred extensive executive powers on the two consuls and detailed their administrative, military and judicial duties. However, aside from the annual congress, it gave no provisions for a deliberative legislative body such as the Roman Senate. This selective adaptation of the Roman Republican model caused contemporaries in the Rio de la Plata to consider the Paraguayan system bizarre and absurd. A republican solution to the absence of the Spanish sovereign may have still been acceptable, but for Nicolás de Herrera the establishment of consuls was pushing things too far, as shown in his outburst to Buenos Aires:

This man, who imbued in the maxims of the Roman Republic attempts ridiculously to organise his government based on that model, has given several examples of his ignorance, his hatred against Buenos Aires, and the inconsequence of his principles.⁸⁹

Herrera’s testimony, though not phrased in flattering terms, indicates that Francia was indeed the person behind the proposal of establishing the consulate. The alleged ignorance of Paraguayans, from the lowest echelons to the highest authorities, was similarly mocked by the Swiss naturalist Johann Rudolph Rengger in his memoirs on his forced detention in Paraguay:

A captain of militia at Yquamádiu (sic) . . . was anxious to expound to his countrymen what liberty meant; and, after having considered over and over again all the definitions which he had ever heard, he could find no better mode of explanation than to tell them, that is was *faith, hope, and charity*! The leaders of the revolution, who were scarcely better educated

⁸⁸ Catalano, ‘Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia’, 59.

⁸⁹ Nicolás de Herrera to Buenos Aires, 1813, qtd. in Catalano, ‘Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia’, 6.

than this captain, were desirous of establishing a republic. But what was a republic? How was it governed? They knew not. Happily they had a copy of Rollin's *Roman History*, the very first good book which had ever been received into the country. They immediately determined to consult it. The institution of consuls took their fancy – a senate no longer met their approbation, probably because they knew not where to find senators.⁹⁰

A country where leaders created their government based on a bad reading of Roman history sounds rather fantastic. Francia, it may be noted, responded to Rennger in the 1830 issue of *El Lucero*, a newspaper in Buenos Aires that ran between 1829 and 1833. This rare example of the dictator expressing his outrage to the wider world shows how Rengger's comments stung. Francia called Rengger a 'poisoning murderer', a 'seducer conspiring with enemies' and 'a barbarian atheist', among other insults. But he did not refute any of Rengger's comments. Such a liar, claimed Francia, deserved nothing but disdain.⁹¹ The reliance on a Roman model was not the issue at stake, but how it was used. Rengger argued that Paraguayans naively imitated Roman history, and while this does not sound like the best recommendation for Paraguayan political thought, it indicates the prestige that Rome had in popular thinking. Rengger's complaint is that Paraguayans misunderstood the Roman model, not the use of the model itself.

1814: Dictatorship of Doctor Francia

In 1814 Francia was voted dictator for five years. The general congress merely noted that it was exerting its right to choose the most convenient government for the republic, without giving any cause.⁹² The discussions and votes themselves were not recorded. Only two people voted against it, but we do not know the nature of their objections. The congress convened again on 5 June 1816 and

⁹⁰ Johann Rudolph Rengger and Marcelin Longchamp, *Essai historique sur la révolution du Paraguay: et le gouvernement dictatorial du docteur Francia* (Paris: H. Bossange, 1827), 20-21.

⁹¹ *El Lucero: Diario Político, Literario y Mercantil* no. 273 (21 August 1830).

⁹² ANA SH Vol. 223 No. 4 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 2, pp. 396-399]: Acta del Congreso General en que se designa Dictador Supremo al Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (3 October 1814).

declared Doctor Francia perpetual dictator, as a ‘being without parallel’ who deserved the full confidence of his country.⁹³

As consul Francia had already, to all practical purposes, been running the country. He sent provisions to the border forts and held audience at the tribunal for even the smallest cases, acting in fairness and completely eclipsing Yegros. Rengger’s note on the inauguration of the consuls, written with the advantage of hindsight, contained a sort of forewarning of the dictatorship to come:

Two curule chairs were prepared for the consuls. They were covered with leather, and upon one was inscribed the name of Caesar, and on the other that of Pompey. Francia eagerly took possession of the first, leaving the other to Yegros; and, in effect, the latter was treated precisely in the same way as to the ultimate distribution of power.⁹⁴

Rengger’s narrative seemed to chart Francia’s career as deliberately paralleling Julius Caesar in his rise to dictatorship. A contemporary who had relived Roman history in his own lifetime was Napoleon, and it may be that Rengger drew this parallel with Napoleon as much as Caesar. Dictators like Caesar (and Napoleon to a lesser extent) do not end well, so such a parallel between Caesar and Francia could carry sinister implications. No wonder Francia disliked Rengger’s book.

The parallel with the Caesars (both Julius Caesar and Augustus) did not exist only in Rengger’s mind, but can actually be inferred from Francia’s own testimony. In 1820-1821 Francia uncovered a conspiracy led by his former fellow consul Yegros, who was condemned and executed on 17 July 1821. Francia’s perception of the event was recorded in a brief but telling manner. One of the few volumes of Francia’s private library to have survived was the second volume of a compendium of Roman history by Juan de Haller.⁹⁵ One page bears the signature of Francia, and another contains an annotation in his handwriting:

⁹³ AHA SH Vol. 226 No. 1 [Colección Doroteo Bareiro Vol. 2, pp. 532-533]: Acta en que se designa al ciudadano José Gaspar de Francia, se le declara, y establece Dictador perpetuo de la República durante su vida con calidad de ser ejemplar (5 June 1816).

⁹⁴ Rengger, *Essai historique*, 22-23.

⁹⁵ François Catrou, S.J. and Juan de Haller y Quiñones, trans., *Historia romana, arreglada a las notas geographicas, y críticas de los RR.PP Catrou y Roville*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Oficina de Antonio Marín, 1735).

14 – VII – 821

17 – VII – 821

25 – VII – 821

Pax

Francia [sic].⁹⁶

This note refers to the dates of the execution of Yegros and other conspirators, including the suicide of Pedro Juan Caballero in his prison cell on 13 July. Catalano commented on the extraordinary and unique nature of this reference to the event by Francia. By removing all enemies, Francia could now proclaim peace, perhaps alluding to the famous peace of the Roman Empire: the Pax Augusta. In contrast, between 1820 and 1840, the rest of the Rio de la Plata was convulsed in civil wars. As Gregorio Funes wrote from Córdoba around 1815: ‘an illness common to all states in revolution . . . is perceived in our current intestine struggles.’⁹⁷ Funes saw that the writings of Sallust could be applied to the civil wars of the Rio de la Plata. For him late Republican Rome seemed to be re-living itself in the region. In turn, Francia claimed a kind of peace similar to the peace of Octavian-Augustus after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., showing that Roman history continued to be a resource to understand and explain contemporary events.

The Archive of Asunción contains an abundance of official administrative records from the Francia era, but he left very few personal documents. Thus, this parallel with the careers of Romans such as Julius Caesar and Augustus is a rare insight into his thought.⁹⁸ Other contemporaries also recognised the parallel between the ‘Pax Francia’ and the Pax Augusta. Hyperbole and flattery certainly figure in the congratulatory note that a lawyer from Córdoba sent Francia in 1826,

⁹⁶ Catalano; ‘Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia’, 101-105. The volume was examined in Italy in the 1980s at the request of ASSLA (Associazione di Studi Sociali Latinoamericani) and the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione of Rome. As secretary of ASSLA, Catalano undertook the publication of the results.

⁹⁷ Funes *Ensayo de Historia* Vol 2, 372. Funes added that the civil wars of the Rio de la Plata read as a page lifted from ancient history. In fact, he recounted the story of a young man who wrote a history of the French Revolution by compiling passages from ancient texts.

⁹⁸ For Spanish Americans Napoleon was above all the hated Frenchman who had attempted to conquer and enslave them. Cf. *Catecismo público para instrucción de los neófitos, o recién convertidos al gremio de la Sociedad Patriótica* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos: no date). This does not mean the example of Napoleon was ignored, but I have found no contemporary comparisons of Napoleon and Francia in regards to their classicism.

but it makes the same connection: 'May Heaven grant long years to the government of Your Excellency. With the temple of Janus closed forever, let the peace of this Republic be longer than that of the Octavian Augustus in Rome'.⁹⁹ In a similar vein, the funeral eulogy of Francia in 1840 by Manuel Antonio Pérez, a priest from Córdoba, stated that 'Julius Caesar and Octavian Augustus were not more worthy of the memory of the Romans than our Dictator of the Paraguayans.'¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, the adaptation of the Roman model of dictatorship, like the consulate, had its critics. Francia's uncle no less, the Franciscan Fray Mariano de Velasco, did not approve of Paraguay's separation from Buenos Aires. In his *Proclama de un paraguayo a sus paisanos*, sponsored and published by the government at Buenos Aires, Fray Mariano rebuked Francia for abusing the Roman dictatorship, and Paraguayans for allowing it to happen. In this case, Francia and other Paraguayans were guilty of mis-interpreting and abusing the Roman example they were ostensibly following:

For the election of a dictator, there must be an extraordinary motive that cannot be dealt with in any way other than with the prudence, zeal and features of a dictator; and at the same time this high dignity . . . should be exercised for a period of six months. How did you have the boldness and audacity to trample on Roman legislation, the author and matrix of the dictatorship . . . and had no courage to change this, or form a new plan, for the legitimate election of the dictator, while you agreed to respect Roman dispositions?¹⁰¹

Francia's dictatorship has been seen by the American historian Richard Alan White as a radical revolution that challenged nineteenth-century capitalism.¹⁰² However, rather than as a challenge to capitalism, Paraguay's reliance on classical models should be viewed as one of several competing discourses on state-building in the Rio de la Plata, grounded in a republican tradition fashioned during the colonial period and transformed after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.

⁹⁹ In José Andrés Vázquez, *El doctor Francia visto y oído por sus contemporáneos* (Asunción: Fondo Editorial Paraquariae, 1962), 590.

¹⁰⁰ In Guillermina Núñez de Baez, *Ilustre prócer de la nacionalidad paraguaya Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia* (Asunción: Ministerio de Educación y Culto, 1972), 32.

¹⁰¹ Qtd. in Catalano, 'Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia', 63.

¹⁰² Richard Alan White, *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978).

Paraguay also continued to be associated with another Republic that still obsessed Europeans in the 1820s: the so-called Jesuit state of Paraguay. A curious anonymous booklet published in London in 1826 claimed to know Francia's plans. According to this source, Francia's project was none other than resurrecting the Jesuit state of Paraguay to provide a base for the Spanish reconquest of the rebellious Rio de la Plata. In an authoritative voice he claimed that Francia, 'in order to give stability to his government . . . was anxious to revive the Jesuitical system, as most in unison with his own plans.'¹⁰³ The Swiss naturalist Rengger, whose anti-Jesuit bias is palpable, suggested that the view of Francia's regime as a new Jesuit state was widespread: 'up to [the 1820s] the general impression was, that Francia aspired to supreme authority only, that he might become the General Monk of Paraguay, and surrender his power to king Ferdinand.'¹⁰⁴

Newspapers in the Rio de la Plata in turn perpetuated a mythical image of Francia and Paraguay, for so little information was actually known due to Francia's isolationist tendencies.¹⁰⁵ In Córdoba the Funes brothers, who were involved in the negotiations between Buenos Aires, the rest of the Rio de la Plata, and Bolívar - that is, who would have known something about Francia - in 1816 knew only that 'Paraguay is dislocated and concentrated on itself.'¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *A narrative of facts connected with the change effected in the political condition and relations of Paraguay under the directions of Dr. Thomas Francia by an individual who witnessed many of them, and obtained authentic information respecting the first* (London: Greenlaw and W. Mason, 1826), 15.

¹⁰⁴ Rengger, *Essai Historique*, 63.

¹⁰⁵ In 1843, while researching for his biography of Francia, Thomas Carlyle commented in frustration on the lack of reliable information about Paraguay: 'It will be shameful to write on Dr Francia, when one really has and can have nothing but a kind of balderdash to write about him:— and yet, on the other hand, after all this higgling and hanging off and on, it will be very shameful not to write about him! Yesterday, after some painful reflexion, I decided that the latter shame was the greater... (Thomas Carlyle to John Forster, 10 June 1843; *CL* 16: 194-195.) Accessed 31 December 2010 at *The Carlyle Letters Online*.

¹⁰⁶ Ambrosio to Gregorio Funes, Córdoba, 19 February 1816 (Letter No. 208). In Gregorio Funes, *Archivo del Doctor Gregorio Funes, Deán de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Córdoba* Vol. 2 (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1944), 233-236.

Conclusion: Francia's Radical Republic

Ultimately Rengger and Francia's other critics missed the point. It was not that Francia had mainly misread the Roman model and forgotten to include a Senate. Neither was he seeking to resurrect the 'Jesuit state of Paraguay'. Francia's radical republican project aimed precisely to eliminate patrician status. The period covered in this thesis does not allow for a full assessment of Francia's dictatorship, but a brief overview of his decrees between 1814 and 1824 shows that Francia dissolved the racial divisions which had underpinned colonial governance and the Jesuit vision of two separate republics.

First came the destruction of Spanish privilege and forced *mestizaje*. In 1814 the two consuls ordered a census of Spanish *peninsulares*. Afterwards marriages between Spanish men and creole women were forbidden; Spaniards could thereafter only marry women from the Indian *pueblos*.¹⁰⁷ Between July and August 1815, Francia began his policy of confiscating the property of Spaniards who died without heirs, thereby increasing state revenue.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, Francia started to restrict church activities and the power of the Roman curia. On 2 July 1815 Francia announced that all convents would be under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Paraguay. Don Baltasar de Casajús, rector of the Real Colegio Seminario San Carlos and at the time Provisor and Vicar General, was removed from office for not possessing Paraguayan citizenship. By 1819, Francia declared that the bishop was suffering from dementia and ordered ecclesiastical affairs to be managed by Casajús' substitute, Don Roque Antonio Céspedes Geria. In 1824 came the final blow towards the regular clergy, with the decree of the secularisation of friars and dissolution of monasteries.

Francia's educational policy was horizontal rather than vertical: he made primary education compulsory throughout the republic, but in 1822 he closed the Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos. Classical learning only survived, ironically, in a peculiar form in the liturgy. In the fourth article of its decree installing Francia as perpetual dictator, the congress of 1816 decided to replace

¹⁰⁷ ANA SH Vol. 223 No. 2

¹⁰⁸ ANA SH Vol 225 No. 1; ANA Sección Civil Vol. 95 No. 2

the prayer for the king with a prayer for the dictator: from *Regem* to '*Dictatorem nostrum Popullo Sivi comiso et exercitu suo* (sic)' ('for our Dictator, by the people themselves entrusted in his office'). The same congress exhorted clerics to preach 'love and respect for the orders of our Supreme Government . . . by which means they will contribute towards the stability of the rights of the patria'.¹⁰⁹

In charting the shift from Jesuit classical learning to secular vernacular classical learning, and finally to its revolutionary implementation, this thesis has traced the emergence of Paraguayan national identity. For Francia, classical learning only had value in so far as it promoted patriotism; his egalitarian polity had no use for classical learning as a tool for educating elites and training priests. This did not spell the end of the story of classical learning in Paraguay, for Francia's successor, Carlos Antonio Lopez, would again resort to classical language to encourage patriotism. During the Paraguayan War (1865-1870) newspaper articles extolled the courage of Paraguayans who gloried in their Indian heritage and were comparable to the famous Spartans. Classical learning thus continued to contribute to the articulation of Paraguayan national identity in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁹ ANA S.H. Vol. 226 No. 1.

Conclusion

Between 1806 and 1807 the British attempted to wrest Buenos Aires away from the Spanish Empire. The creole militia of Buenos Aires and Montevideo put up a resistance under the leadership of Santiago Liniers, who summoned troops from Paraguay as well. On 12 August 1807 General John Whitelocke was forced to sign an armistice with Liniers. At the discussions neither side understood each other, so officials resorted to a common language: Latin.¹¹⁰ This was possible because the British and Spanish Americas still had classical learning in common, but the episode signalled the end of an era. By 1815 French was widely studied and announcements for English language classes appeared frequently in newspapers in Buenos Aires.¹¹¹ The study of classical texts continued to withdraw into seminaries and private studies.

The fact that the production of Latin literature in the Americas inevitably diminished after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 has been central to this thesis. Assessing such a scenario requires different methodology and an Atlantic perspective for historians of the classical tradition. The Jesuits constituted a circle of intellectuals in the Rio de la Plata that more closely resembled their European humanist counterparts because they drew from the same classical authors. While Jesuits did not primarily aim to renew the classical literatures of antiquity, they did ascribe to the civic humanist goal of producing virtuous leaders for the good of the republic – which also happened to be for the greater glory of God, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Chapter 1 thus explored the use of classical learning by José Manuel Peramás in constructing an elite creole vision for Córdoba (Argentina) in his *Laudationes Quinque*, which presented the College of Monserrat (and implicitly the Jesuits) as the heart and lifeline of society.

¹¹⁰ Craig Kallendorf, 'Education' in Anthony Grafton et al., eds. *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2010), 296.

¹¹¹ Beatriz Dávila, 'The Rio de la Plata and Anglo-American Political and Social Models, 1810-1827', 384.

At the same time, the knowledge of the Americas which Jesuits gained by first-hand experience and observation generally inflected their Latin literature. Chapter 2 analysed a treatise comparing the Guarani missions and Plato's *Republic* by Peramás. Considered the last Latin utopia of the eighteenth century, Peramás used his knowledge of classical authors (mostly Plato, Tacitus, and Cicero) to present the Guarani as politically conscious citizens. An important source was also the Neo-Latin didactic poem *Praedium Rusticum* by Jacques Vanière. Peramás' purpose was to refute European slanders that the Jesuits had enslaved and oppressed the Indians; the result, was that he presented an ideal model of statehood in Paraguay decades before independence.

As the Paraguayan exiles clustered in Faenza in the 1770s and 1780s, Peramás was able to draw from his classical learning acquired in Cervera, from existing Jesuit literature on the missions, and from conversations with fellow exiles. His superior Domingo Muriel, the missionary José Cardiel, and the Jesuit from Asunción Roque Rivas are a few of the companions that he mentioned. Niccolò Guasti has studied the insertion of Spanish Jesuits into the culture and economy of eighteenth-century Italy, with some attention to the Jesuits of Paraguay in so far as they were from Spain. Miguel Batllori provided the authoritative study on the culture of the exiles and their 'Americanism.' A prosopographical study of the Paraguayan Jesuits that combines both approaches would be well worth further research, as it continues to illuminate eighteenth-century Italian, Spanish and Spanish American intellectual history.

The flow of teachers and books that characterised the Jesuit college network in the Rio de la Plata and across the Atlantic ended in 1767. Chapter 3 charted the changes in classical education in Asunción. In the first half it surveyed the learning conditions and textbooks used in the College of Asunción under the Jesuits. An examination of the library inventory yielded an important discovery, with the presence of several of the student editions of classical texts produced at Villagarcía in the late 1750s and early 1760s under the leadership of Francisco Javier Idiáquez. Peramás himself confirmed the circulation of books from Villagarcía to Paraguay and even dedicated his first set of biographies of the Paraguayan Jesuits to Idiáquez in 1791. Idiáquez was also responsible for a

teaching manual that highlighted his pedagogical reforms, the *Prácticas e Industrias* (1758). Moreover, Jesuits trained at Villagarcía and at Cervera, such as Peramás, would have taken their teaching practices with them to America. At the same time, Jesuits in New Spain implemented a series of reforms which caught the attention of the Jesuit authorities in Rome. The renewal of Jesuit classical learning in the Spanish Assistancy was thus truly a trans-Atlantic affair, which included Villagarcía and Cervera as well as New Spain in the 1750s and 1760s.

This is altogether different from the circumstances of educational establishments in the Rio de la Plata after the Jesuits were expelled. Asunción was no longer part of a network which guaranteed a supply of teachers, books and funds. It no longer served as the base for missionary work in the Chaco, or as the residence of priests dedicated to pastoral service. Indeed, for more than a decade the city had no institute of higher education. In the 1770s creoles from Asunción were forced to travel to Córdoba, which was under the Franciscans. The struggle to obtain a local seminary finally bore fruit in 1783. Directly under the authority of secular authorities, the early history of the *Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos* of Asunción (founded on the premises of the former Jesuit college) was characterised by internecine strife, lack of funding and staff shortage. This situation was typical of colleges and universities throughout Spanish America after the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The second part of Chapter 3 suggests that the Bourbon reforms arguably brought about a decline in classical learning. In theory the educational reforms should not have affected the study of Latin (*gramática*) as much as they did the subjects of Theology and Philosophy (the ideas of Francisco Suárez on tyrannicide, for instance, were banned). However, in Paraguay the student editions of classical texts printed at Villagarcía seem to have simply been ignored. In the programme of studies of 1783 for the new seminary of San Carlos, no classical authors were recommended and selections of classical authors were left entirely at the discretion of teachers. In contrast, elsewhere in Spanish America programmes of studies continued to outline the typical authors that had been proposed by Idiáquez at Villagarcía, such as Phaedrus, Nepos, Ovid and Virgil. The legacy of the Jesuits in education therefore persisted unevenly throughout Spanish America,

mainly through professors who had been trained by Jesuits, and through their libraries.

The rejection of Jesuit pedagogy in Asunción took the form of attacking its rhetoric for being highflown, pernicious and undesirable for a training in the priesthood. This perhaps disguised the fact that there was not sufficient money to fund a chair of rhetoric, but it is also likely that no one in Asunción would have been sufficiently prepared to teach it. A combination of anti-Jesuitism and stark circumstances thus limited the learning objectives of the *Plan de Estudios* of San Carlos.

Some of the reforms at Asunción were positive, most notably that of offering three scholarship to Indian students at San Carlos. Governor Alós sought to create a local clergy for the Indios *pueblos*, since there were simply not enough priests and religious to substitute the expelled Jesuits.¹¹² His suggestion to offer scholarships to Indian elites meant that the student population of San Carlos was mixed. Jesuits had generally kept Indian and non-Indian student populations apart, so in this sense the expulsion resulted in a wider access to classical learning – or a change of location, for Indian *caciques* had received instruction under the Jesuits in the missions. As a result the history of education sheds light on important changes in colonial Paraguay: the Guaraní Indians who had previously been segregated in the Jesuit missions progressively became incorporated into colonial society after 1767. Much remains to be studied about the processes by which this happened. The fact that Guaraní was spoken by all the people of Paraguay meant that the divisions between Indian and non-Indian became less discernible in some respects, so that in the census of 1782 more than 60% of the population considered itself *español*.

The relationship between classical learning and the construction of American identities was greatly influenced by the expulsion of the Jesuits and the decline of Latin. The Latin literature produced by the exiled Jesuits had impact on Europe as well as the Americas; their proto-nationalism was not exclusively an Italian phenomenon. For example, the Latin epic of Diego Abad, *De deo, deoque homine heroica* (1775) was the subject of several editions and praised both in

¹¹² José Andrés-Gallego, 'Consecuencias de la expulsión de los jesuitas en America: primer balance,' 149-175.

Europe and in America, even appearing in a 1783 Spanish translation in Mexico under the name *Musa Americana*.¹¹³

A trickle of correspondence between the exiles and creoles also ensured that the Jesuit connection was not completely severed. A colourful example is Cosme Antonio de la Cueva, who had taught for several years at the College of Asunción. In 1786 Cueva came under the scrutiny of the Bourbon officials in Italy for his rather dubious commercial activities. Based in Bologna, his contacts in Genoa and Cádiz were thought to have helped him smuggle pamphlets, satires and anti-royalist correspondence to the Americas, which the officials confiscated. The episode earned Cueva some time in the humid prison of Forte Urbano.¹¹⁴ A more respected figure was Gaspar Juárez, who became reknown for his botanical expertise in Rome. Juárez continued to receive letters and financial support from relatives back in Córdoba, and was thus able to report to the Funes brothers of the publication of biographies by Peramás in 1791.

Whilst in exile Peramás also wrote his Columbus epic, which indicates that he identified with some Spanish American themes and concerns. It was however Jesuits born in the Rio de la Plata who displayed patriotism that translated into actions. In 1789 Francisco Javier Iturri, a native of Santa Fe, published a refutation of the *Historia del nuevo mundo* of Juan Bautista Muñoz, censuring him for his portrayal of the continent and its people. Iturri's work was reprinted in Buenos Aires (1818) and Mexico (1820).¹¹⁵ Both Juárez and Iturri sought to return to America in 1798 when it was decreed that former Jesuits could return to their country of origin – a decree that was quickly revoked.¹¹⁶ Finally, Iturri refused to swear allegiance to Joseph Bonaparte when the French entered Rome in 1808, for which he was imprisoned for five months.

The fate of Jesuit classical learning between 1767 and 1815 is all too nicely reflected by what befell the printing press in Córdoba during the same period. Set up in 1766, it managed to print three works (including Peramás

¹¹³ This is also the name of first 'bootlegged' edition of Abad's poem, printed in Cádiz in 1769 by Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, a former student of the Jesuit college of San Ildefonso. Gamarra published it without Abad's knowledge and without ascribing authorship to him. *DHCJ* Vol. 1, 2.

¹¹⁴ Guasti, *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli*, 148-149.

¹¹⁵ *DHCJ* Vol. 3, 2115.

¹¹⁶ *DHCJ* Vol. 3, 2161.

Laudationes Quinque) before the expulsion. It then lay in the basement of the College of Monserrat until 1780, when the viceroy Juan José de Vértiz considered it would be more useful to have it transferred to Buenos Aires. Renamed 'Imprenta de Niños Expósitos', the press was used to print decrees and newsletters. In 1801 it produced the first official newspaper of the Rio de la Plata, *El Telégrafo Mercantil*, and continued as the press of newspapers during the wars of independence. In a similar manner, the classical learning and the books provided by the Jesuits in the Rio de la Plata continued to inform intellectual trends and political thought even as it was transformed by its encounter with (European) Enlightenment thought.

Chapter 4 highlighted the republican tradition of Spanish America, showing the persistence of the traditional (and Jesuit) concept of republic as a mystical body. This was not a uniform tradition, as several meanings of republic could be found in newspapers, dictionaries and literature of the Rio de la Plata. The crisis of the Spanish monarchy in 1808 eventually caused creoles to redefine the concept of republic as a small sovereign territory, replete with references to ancient republics (mainly Athens, Sparta and Rome). In Paraguay this resulted in the establishment of a government moulded according to Roman institutions: a consulate between 1812 and 1813, and the dictatorship of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, which was made perpetual in 1816. While Paraguayans considered Roman institutions a valid precedent for forming their government, critics in Buenos Aires countered that there were more modern examples to choose from. This polemic had its roots of course in the refusal of Paraguayans to accept the leadership of Buenos Aires in heading the government of the former viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. More importantly, it signalled that classical learning continued to shape political discourse in the nineteenth century, even as the relevance of antiquity itself came to be contested.

The republic created by Doctor Francia after 1811 was radically different from Peramás' ideal polity. The Jesuit system of two republics was based on segregation of Indian and creole communities and it proclaimed absolute loyalty to the king of Spain. Francia's republic encompassed a *mestizo* population and dissolved creole and Spanish privileges, aiming at equality and secular patriotism.

Nonetheless, Paraguay continued to be associated with the ‘Jesuit Republic of Paraguay’ in Europe even in the nineteenth century. Pierangelo Catalano cited the Jesuit precedent as influential in Francia’s thought, along with Roman history and Rousseau. This thesis has suggested that Francia rejected rather than appropriated Jesuit thought, but further research is required.

The independence of Paraguay between 1808 and 1815 can thus be framed within a Spanish American republican discourse that was shaped by contingent events. It was not a process by which a pre-existing Paraguayan nation fought to reclaim its freedom from Spain, as maintained by nationalistic histories.¹¹⁷ The restoration of the Spanish monarchy in 1813, the restoration of the Jesuit order in 1814, and the declaration of Francia as perpetual dictator in 1816 prompted a more nationalistic bent in political expression, but these developments are beyond the chronological scope of this enquiry.¹¹⁸ Rather, this thesis has sought to revise nationalistic narratives of Paraguayan history by focusing on the transmission and deployment of classical learning in the Rio de la Plata. By its nature classical learning has never been exclusive to any particular location.¹¹⁹ Considered in a broader cultural and geographic perspective, a study of classical learning throws fresh light on Paraguay’s political and intellectual history.

¹¹⁷ A critique of nationalistic narratives in Latin American history is found in Elías José Palti, ‘Beyond Revisionism: The Bicentennial of Independence, the Early Republican Experience, and Intellectual History in Latin America Author(s)’, in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 no. 4 (2009): 593-614. While revisionism has resulted in a move towards regional, trans-national and trans-continental intellectual histories of Latin America since the 1960s, Palti observed that often they fail to re-examine the premises of nationalistic narratives, perpetuating schemes of models and derivations of European thought. Latin American intellectual history thus continues to be discussed as marginal and as the site of incorrect application of European models. A study of classical learning is one way to overcome these scholarly challenges because it is focused on traditions and language rather than a history of ideas.

¹¹⁸ The return of the Jesuits to Paraguay, for instance, was viewed suspiciously in the nineteenth-century. They returned to the Rio de la Plata in 1835, but they did not successfully establish themselves in Paraguay until 1927. An earlier attempt to return in the 1840s is discussed in Ignacio Telesca ‘The First Return of the Jesuits to Paraguay’, in *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, eds. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014): 415-432.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 18-19. Anderson located the decline of Latin as an international language of intelligentsia as one of the cultural roots of nationalism.

Epilogue: New Troy and New Rome

While Paraguayans were experimenting with Roman institutions, poets in the Banda Oriental (now Uruguay) articulated their own comparison with the ancient world. Founded in 1726 in order to safeguard Spanish interests in view of Portuguese encroachment in the Rio de la Plata, the port city of Montevideo quickly became a rival of Buenos Aires.¹²⁰ In 1810, with the proclamation of independence of Buenos Aires, Montevideo became a royalist stronghold, and soon came under siege. Between 1811 and 1814, the young poet Francisco Acuña de Figueroa (1791-1862) kept himself busy by relating daily events in his *Diario Histórico*. As Carlos Real de Azúa pointed out, the *Diario Histórico* expressed what became a constant theme in Uruguayan literature: the myth of Montevideo as a new Troy.¹²¹

In fact Montevideo was besieged several times during the nineteenth century, most notably between 1811 and 1814, and again in 1843-1851. Between 1810 and 1850 the city was variously controlled by Argentines, Portuguese, Brazilians and rival Uruguayan factions. In this unstable political situation, New Troy came to represent the heroic endurance of Montevideo, once a rich and powerful port of the Spanish Empire. For instance, in 1851 Acuña de Figueroa wrote that, 'like a new Trojan war, foreign war arose, and the Orient [Uruguay] fell from her prosperity'.¹²² Like Troy, Montevideo had been a prosperous city by the coast, and was attacked by foreigners. In 1851 Acuña de Figueroa penned a patriotic hymn praising his city: 'More distinguished than Troy, oh indomitable city, your patriotism has been melted and moulded in the foundry'.¹²³ So instead of going into exile and founding a new city like Virgil's hero, the people of

¹²⁰ Edmundo M. Narancio, *La Independencia de Uruguay* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 37-54.

¹²¹ Carlos Real Azúa, *Los clasicistas y los románticos* [Capítulo Oriental de la historia de la literatura uruguaya 5] (Montevideo: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1969), 76.

¹²² 'Exaltación del Bagre', in Francisco Acuña de Figueroa, *Mosaico Poético* vol. 1 (Montevideo: Imprenta del Liceo Montevideano, 1857), 127.

¹²³ 'El 8 de Octubre de 1851: En que terminó felizmente el largo sitio de Montevideo', in *Mosaico Poético* vol. 2, 113.

Montevideo were said to emerge stronger from each crisis. This theme appeared repeatedly in Acuña de Figueroa's poetry.¹²⁴

Troy was not the only ancient analogue. In his *Diario Histórico*, Acuña de Figueroa also called the city a New Saguntum, 'preferring noble extermination . . . and scorning promises and threats of the crafty Argentine government'. According to Livy, in 218 B.C. the Carthaginians under Hannibal besieged Saguntum (in Spain), which like Montevideo, was a wealthy city situated near the sea.¹²⁵ The people of Saguntum had resisted a force outnumbering them, preferring to burn their own houses and riches, and to die fighting rather than surrender.

In May of 1846 Acuña de Figueroa presented the text of the Paraguayan National Anthem *gratis* to Paraguayan delegates in Montevideo, who relayed it onto a delighted Carlos Antonio Lopez, the President of Paraguay. While Paraguay still lacked the official recognition of its independence by its neighbours, by the 1840s it could, through the exertions of Lopez, claim to have its own national symbols, including a flag, coat of arms, and a national anthem. In the second stanza of the anthem Acuña de Figueroa called Paraguay a 'New Rome' and summarised the history of Paraguay since independence in metaphorical terms:

*Nueva Roma, la patria ostentara
Dos caudillos, de nombre y valer,
Que rivales, cual Rómulo y Remo
Dividieron gobierno y poder...
Largos años, cual Febo entre nubes,
Viose oculta la perla del Sud,
Hoy un Héroe grandioso aparece
Realzando su gloria y virtud. . .[CORO]*

New Rome, the patria (once) boasted
Two leaders of renown and valour,
Who rivals, like Romulus and Remus
Divided governance and power.
For many years, as Phoebus among the clouds.
The pearl of the South found itself hidden.
Today a great Hero appears
Re-heightening its glory and virtue... [CHORUS]

¹²⁴ See also his letter to a brother (*Carta patriótica*) and *Primera Carta Amistosa a Carmelita*, in *Obras Completas* vol. 7: 54-59,61.

¹²⁵ Liv. 21.7.

Romulus and Remus here represented José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia and Fulgencio Yegros, the two cousins who became consuls and later bitter rivals. The Hero who increased Paraguay's glory is a flattering reference to Carlos Antonio López. The reference to Romulus and Remus might suggest sinister implications of fratricide to a modern audience, all the more so given that that Francia executed his kinsman Yegros for conspiracy in 1821. Acuña de Figueroa would probably have been familiar with a version of the Roman foundation myth found in Livy, where Remus leaped over the new walls of Rome in mockery of his brother, and died at the hand of Romulus.¹²⁶ Acuña de Figueroa had definitely read and translated Horace, who stated that the fratricide lay at the root of the civil strife endemic to Roman republican history.¹²⁷

Acuña de Figueroa's text for the Paraguayan national anthem posed the larger question for this thesis of how Spanish Americans used classical texts and motifs and applied them to their own situation. Acuña de Figueroa may have compared Francia and Yegros to the Roman twins for a rhetorical purpose: both to exalt the grandeur of Paraguay's foundation, and, through the veiled reference to the death of one the consuls and the ensuing darkening of the nation's glory, to set the stage for the rise of López. Acuña de Figueroa's use of classical themes was not unique, but harked back to a way of writing that began with the arrival of the first Spaniards in the New World.

¹²⁶ Liv. 1-6-7). For the variant versions of the Romulus and Remus myth see T.P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Less known versions of the Roman foundation myth do not mention a fratricide, but it is unlikely that Acuña de Figueroa was familiar with them. For example, Varro (first century B.C.) presented the brothers as shepherds who founded the city and taught the people how to cultivate the land (*De Rustica* 2.pref.4). A fragment of Cassius Hemina (second century B.C.) stated that the brothers held equal authority (fr. 11P). An eccentric version in the *Origo gentis Romanae* mentioned that Remus outlived his brother. Virgil has Zeus prophecy to Aeneas that his descendants Romulus-Quirinus, and Remus shall one day give laws together (A. 1.290). Virgil still alludes to the death of Remus here, but the collaboration of the twins symbolises the end of civil wars and the advent of the *Pax Augusta*. See Keith MacLennan *Virgil Aeneid I* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2010), 110.

¹²⁷ Hor. *Epod.* 7.17-20: *Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fraternae necis, ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor*: 'What hounds the Romans is bitter fate and the crime of a brother's murder, ever since the blood of innocent Remus flowed into the earth, a curse to his descendants.' Acuña de Figueroa translated this poem as a bet that he could do it without extensive paraphrasing. See Acuña de Figueroa, Manuel Bernérdez, ed., *Obras Completas de Francisco Acuña de Figueroa* vol. 6 (Montevideo: Vázquez Cores, Dornaleche y Reyes, 1890), 193.

Antiquity continued to be a major reference point for nineteenth-century Spanish American intellectuals. The Cuban writer and revolutionary José Martí (1853-1895) described his fellow-Cuban poet José María Heredia (1803-1839) as one who aimed to equal poets and heroes: ‘as his primer he had Homer; as a grammar, Montesquieu’ (*‘por cartilla tuvo a Homero; por gramática a Montesquieu’*). Following this, Martí observed that on reading the *Lives* of Plutarch in Latin, Heredia did not think that the work was complete, since a world made for happiness still had slaves and impious masters.¹²⁸ Heroes were still needed, and revolutionaries framed their mission within larger, universal narratives that connected them to antiquity.

Finally, classical learning underpinned vernacular literatures and played a role in the formation of a nineteenth century literary canon. A notable example is Andrés Bello (1781-1865), who had trained as a Latinist in Caracas before entering the colonial bureaucracy and the world of journalism. The wars of independence changed the course of this otherwise typical colonial career. Sent to England with Simón Bolívar as delegates of the first Venezuelan republic in 1810, the collapse of that regime in 1812 meant that Bello was stranded in Britain for thirteen years. During that time he turned his attention to literature, producing his *Silvas americanas* (1826-1827), two long poems on the landscape and nature of America modelled after the description of country life in Virgil’s *Georgics*. Writing in the vernacular, Bello aimed to provide a foundational literature for Spanish America which was still rooted in a European legacy – most obviously through the choice of the Spanish language and Virgil – but was at the same time intrinsic to American culture. Nadia Altschul described Bello as the postcolonial ‘criollo American, who can neither be subsumed as fully European nor regarded as fully alien to European culture.’¹²⁹ Classical learning was one tool through which creoles could both maintain and challenge the colonial connection.

¹²⁸ José Martí, ‘Heredia’ in *Nuestra América* (Barcelona: Lingkua-Digital 2016), 213. Originally published in 1888.

¹²⁹ Nadia Altschul, *Geographies of Philological Knowledge: Postcoloniality & the Transatlantic National Epic* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press: 2012), 4.

Bibliography

A. Primary sources: Manuscripts

Archivo Nacional de Asunción (Asunción, Paraguay)

Sección Nueva Encuadernación

ANA NE Vol. 83: Plan de estudios Colegio San Carlos (1783).

ANA NE Vol. 129: Expediente de fundación y establecimiento del Real Colegio Seminario de San Carlos y la Purísima Concepción de esta ciudad de Asunción del Paraguay (1783).

ANA NE Vol. 227: Carta en guaraní del Corregidor del Pueblo de San Joaquín al Gobernador Pedro Melo de Portugal con su traducción, ordenada por el Gobernador (1783).

Sección Historia

ANA SH Vol. 109 No. 5: Expulsión de los Jesuitas por el gobernador José de Antequera y Castro (1724-1727).

ANA SH Vol. 114 No. 1: Real provisión sobre la restitución de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús en sus respectivos colegios de la Provincia (1727).

ANA SH Vol. 120 No. 9: Averiguación sobre la introducción de portugueses en territorio de la Provincia del Paraguay (1741).

ANA SH Vol. 120 No. 120: Solicitud de información del Gobernador del Paraguay sobre las invaciones de distintas naciones de indios a la Provincia (1741).

ANA SH 58 No. 10: Reales Cédulas y provisiones e informes del Gobernador (1764-1768).

ANA SH Vol. 136 No. 3: Expediente sobre la búsqueda de oro en la zona de Paraguari, en tierras antiguamente pertenecientes a los jesuitas (1770).

ANA SH Vol. 64 No. 1: Real Cédula dirigida al Obispo del Paraguay para que informe sobre la conveniencia de instalar una universidad en Asunción (1776).

ANA SH Vol. 142 No. 9: Gobernador del Paraguay Agustin Fernando de Pinedo sobre la necesidad de fundar un Colegio religioso franciscano en la Provincia (1777).

ANA SH Vol. 143 No. 3: Informe del Gobernador del Paraguay Joaquín de Alós al Rey, sobre el Real Colegio Seminario. Borrador (1788).

ANA SH Vol. 148 No. 10: Correspondencia del gobernador Pedro Melo de Portugal (1784).

ANA SH Vol. 149 No. 7 (1): El gobernador Pedro Melo de Portugal a los Prelados de los Conventos sobre estudiantes de sus colegios (1786).

ANA SH Vol. 149 No. 8: Real Cédula sobre el Colegio Seminario de San Carlos (1786).

ANA SH Vol. 179 No. 2: Aviso al público de la fundación de la Cátedra de Aritmética, Geometría y Álgebra en la Real Universidad de Córdoba (1809).

ANA SH Vol. 207 No. 1: Exámenes de los alumnos del Seminario (1808-1815).

ANA SH Vol. 213A (1): Documentos relativos a la independencia del Paraguay (1811).

ANA SH Vol. 222 No. 3: Resoluciones del Congreso Supremo en el cual José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia y Fulgencio Yegros son designados Cónsules de la República. Reglamento de Gobierno (1813)

ANA SH Vol. 223 No. 4: Acta del Congreso General en que se designa Dictador Supremo al Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (1814).

AHA SH Vol. 226 No. 1: Acta en que se designa al ciudadano José Gaspar de Francia, se le declara, y establece Dictador perpetuo de la República durante su vida con calidad de ser ejemplar (1816).

ANA SH Vol. 439 No. 1: El Dr. José G. Rodríguez de Francia es nombrado Catedrático de Teología de Vísperas (1787).

Colección José Doroteo Bareiro (1762-1863), 16 typewritten volumes: A collection of all documents in ANA pertaining to Rodríguez de Francia and Carlos Antonio López, transcribed by the former director José Doroteo Bareiro (1877-1950).

Archivo General de la Nación, Biblioteca Nacional (Buenos Aires, Argentina)

AGN, BN, Sala IX, 22.9.1: Índice Alfabético de la Librería del Colegio de la Asunción del Paraguay año de 1771 formado por lo Presviteros Diputados para ello por la Ilustrísima Junta Municipal de esta Ciudad.

AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6337: Anuas del Colegio de Paraguay desde 1 de abril de 1758, en que se formaron y despacharon las últimas hasta 1 de enero de 1763.

AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6338: Anuas del Colegio de Paraguay día 31 de diciembre de 1762 hasta 31 de octubre de 1765.

AGN, BN, Legajo 362 No. 6339: Ordenanzas del Padre Nicolas Durán Provincial de esta Provincia para el Colegio de Paraguay. N.d.

B. Primary Sources: Newspapers

El Lucero: Diario Político, Literario y Mercantil no. 273 (21 August 1830). Accessed 28 July 2015 at Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina:http://catalogo.bn.gov.ar/exlibris/aleph/a20_1/apache_media/UXGKN_AJ34DE7MHXAA78H7KT513DABD.pdf

La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres. Extraordinaria (8 February 1812). Accessed 3 March 2016 at *Biblioteca Digital Trapalanda* (Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina, Buenos Aires):
<http://trapalanda.bn.gov.ar:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/1751>).

La Gazeta de Buenos Aires. Extraordinaria (5 July 1816). Accessed 3 March 2016 at *Biblioteca Digital Trapalanda* (Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina, Buenos Aires):
<http://trapalanda.bn.gov.ar:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/3999>).

Telégrafo Mercantil Rural Político Económico, e Historiógrafo del Rio de la Plata no. 1 (1 April 1801). Accessed 25 February 2016 at *Biblioteca Digital Trapalanda* (Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina, Buenos Aires): <http://trapalanda.bn.gov.ar/jspui/handle/123456789/231>

Telégrafo Mercantil Rural Político Económico, e Historiógrafo del Rio de la Plata no. 19 (3 June 1801). Accessed 3 March 2016 at *Biblioteca Digital Trapalanda* (Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina, Buenos Aires): <http://trapalanda.bn.gov.ar/jspui/handle/123456789/249>.

C. Printed works of José Manuel Peramás, with editions and modern translations cited in this thesis

1. Laudationes Quinque (1766)

Peramás, José Manuel (1766) *Clarissimi Viri D.D Ignatii Duartii et Quirosii, Collegii Monserratensis Cordubae in America conditoris, laudationes quinque, quas eidem Collegio Regio Barnabas Echaniquius O.D. Córdoba [Cordubae Tucumanorum]: Typis Collegii Monserratensis.*

_____ (1937) *Cinco oraciones laudatorias en honor del Dr. D. Ignacio Duarte y Quiros* [Facsimile], Benito Ochoa, trans. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad. Copy consulted at the British Library BLL01002818891.

_____ (2005) *José Manuel Peramás Laudationes Quinque: Cinco alabanzas al ilustre Sr. Dr. Ignacio Duarte Quirós*, text with translation and notes by Marcela A. Suárez. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Nación Argentina.

2. *Diario del destierro (1768-1769)*

Peramás, José Manuel (1952) *José Manuel Peramás y su Diario del Destierro (1768)*, Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, ed. [Escritores Coloniales Rioplatenses vol. I]. Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata.

_____ (2004) *Diario del destierro*, Lila Perrén de Velasco, ed. Córdoba: Editorial de la Universidad Católica de Córdoba.

3. *Finis Anni Patientis (1770)*

Peramás, Jose Manuel (1770) *Finis Anni Patientis elegia*. In *Cinco Oraciones Laudatorias en honor del Dr. Ignacio Duarte y Quiros* [Facsimile], Benito Ochoa, trans. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad, pp. 48-51.

4. *De invento novo orbe (1777)*

Peramás, José Manuel (1777) *Josephi Emmanuelis Peramasii sacerdotis hispani de invento novo orbe inductoque illuc Christi sacrificio libri tres*. Faenza [Faventiae]: Ex Chalcographia Josephi Antonii Archii. Copy consulted at Hathi Trust Digital Library (Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid BH FOA 395.6): <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/ucm.532379134x>.

5. *Adveniente Faventiam (1787)*

Peramás, José Manuel (1787) *Adveniente Faventiam illustrissimo ac reverendissimo D. D. Dominico e marchion. Mancinforte... vota et gratulatio. Carmen epicum Josephi Emmanuelis Peramasii*. Faenza

[Faventiae]: Ex Typographia L. Genestri. Copy consulted at the Vatican Library, Rome, Stamp.Ferr.II.712 (int.48).

6. *De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum Paraguaycorum (1791)*

Peramás, José Manuel (1791) *Josephi Emmanuelis Peramas de vita et moribus sex sacerdotum Paraguaycorum*. Faenza [Faventiae]: Ex Typographia Archii, 1791. Copy consulted at the Bodleian Library, Oxford 602576786.

_____ (1946) *Vida y Obra de Seis Humanistas* [Biblioteca Americana de Escritores Coloniales], Antonio Ballus, trans. Buenos Aires: Huarpes.

7. *De vita et moribus tredecium virorum paraguaycorum (1793)*

Peramás, José Manuel (1793) *Josephi Emmanuelis Peramas De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum*. Faenza [Faventiae]: Ex Typographia Archii. Copy consulted at the British Library BLL01017721630.

_____ (1946) *La República de Platón y los guaraníes*, J. Cortés del Pino, trans., with prologue by Guillermo Furlong. Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores.

_____ (2004) *Platón y los Guaraníes*, F. Fernández Pertíñez, trans., with prologue by Bartomeu Melià. Asunción: Centro de Estudios Paraguayos “Antonio Guasch”.

D. Primary sources: Print

Abad, Diego José, S.J. (1775) *Jacobi Josephi Labbe selenopolitani de deo, deoque homine heroica*. Ferrara [Ferrariæ]: Apud Josephum Rinaldi.

_____ (1778) *Jacobi Josephi Labbe Selenopolitani Dissertatio ludicro-seria: num possit aliquis extra Italiam natus bene latine scribere, contra quam Robertus pronuntiat?* N.p.

Acosta, José de, S.J. (1588) *De procuranda Salute Indorum, Libri Sex*. Salamanca [Salmanticae]: Apud Guillelmum Foquel. Copy consulted at the Johns Hopkins University Special Collections, Peabody Library 918A185.

- Acuña de Figueroa, Francisco (1857) *Mosaico Poético*. 2 vols. Montevideo: Imprenta del Liceo Montevideano.
- _____ (1890) *Obras completas*. M.P. Bernárdez, ed. 12 vols. Montevideo: Vázquez Cores, Dornaleche y Reyes.
- Aguirre, Raymundo, S.J. (1759) *Q. Curtii Rufi De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni: libri VIII Breviariis, ac notis Hispanicis illustrati, cum locupletissimo indice Urbium omnium, Regionum, Fluminum &c. quae apud Auctorem frequenter occurrunt*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Alegre, Francisco Javier, S.J. (1956-1960) [1841-1842] *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*. Ernest J. Burrus and Félix Zubillaga, eds. 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.
- Amat de Graveson, Ignatius (1737-1738) *Historia ecclesiastica variis colloquiis digesta...* 3 vols. Augsburg [Augustae Vindelocorum & Graecii]: Sumptibus Fratrum Veith.
- Andrés y Morell, Juan, S.J. (1782-1822) *Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*. 8 vols. Parma: Dalla Stamperia Reale.
- Anon. (1826) *A narrative of facts connected with the change effected in the political condition and relations of Paraguay under the directions of Dr. Thomas Francia by an individual who witnessed many of them, and obtained authentic information respecting the first*. London: Printed for the author by Greenlaw and W. Mason.
- Aymerich, Mateo, S.J. (1780) *Quinti Moderati Censorini De vita, et morte latinae linguae paradoxa philologica criticis nonnullis dissertationibus exposita, asserta et probata*. Ferrara [Ferrariae]: J. Rinaldi.
- Bellarmino, Robert, S.J. (1608) *Recognitio librorum omnium Roberti Bellarmini S.R.E. cardinalis amplissimi, ab ipso reverendissimo et illustrissimo auctore edita. Accessit correctorium errorum, qui typographorum negligentia in libros eiusdem Cardinalis editionis Venetae irrepserunt*. Ingostadt [Ingolstadii]: Ex typographeo Adami Sartorii.
- Botero, Giovanni (1589) *Della ragion di stato, libri dieci. Con tre libri delle cause della grandezza, e magnificenza delle città*. Ferrara: Appresso Vittorio Baldini.

- Bougainville, Louis-Antoine (1771) *Voyage autour du monde par la frégate du roi la Boudeuse, et la flûte l'Étoile; en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769*. 2 vols. Paris: Chez Saillant et Nyon.
- Boussuet, Jacques B. (1862-1875) *Oeuvres complètes de Bossuet publiées d'après les imprimés et les manuscrits originaux, purgées des interpolations et rendues à leur intégrité, par F. Lachat*. François Lachat, ed. Paris: Louis Vivès.
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro (1782) [1684] *Comedia famosa, La Vanda y la Flor*. Valencia: Joseph y Tomas de Orga.
- Campo, Ignacio del (1722) *Gramática de Cicerón, y demas autores, segun el estilo, engace, y uso retórico, en particular, frases, y modo de oracionar en prosa, conforme usa Cicerón...* Madrid: Por Manuel Romàn.
- _____ (1750) *Gramática Lacónica Latina, epítome para aprender con suma brevedad à componer, y construir perfectamente Latin, sin necesidad de otro libro, para saberle...* 5th edition. Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez.
- Campomanes, Pedro R. (1977) *Dictámen fiscal de la expulsión de los jesuitas de España (1766-1769)*. Jorge Cejudo and Teófanés Egidio, eds. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española.
- Cañete, Pedro Vicente (1809) *Carta Consultiva Apologética de los procedimientos del Excmo. Señor Virrey Don Santiago Liniers, sobre las ocurrencias de la Junta de gobierno establecida en la Ciudad de Montevideo Con Varias Reflexiones Que Apoyan La Sabia Vista Fiscal De 15 De Octubre De 1808*. Buenos Aires: En la Real Imprenta de Niños Expósitos.
- Cardiel, José, S.J. (1900) [1758] *Declaración de la Verdad. Obra inédita*. Pablo Hernández, ed. Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Juan A. Alsina.
- _____ (1930) [1748] *Diario del viaje y misión al río del Sauce realizado en 1748*. Guillermo Furlong, ed. Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora.
- _____ (1953) [1747] *Carta y relación de las misiones de la provincia del Paraguay*. Guillermo Furlong, ed. [Escritores coloniales rioplatenses 2]. Buenos Aires: Libería del Plata.

- Carlyle, Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle (2007-2016) [1812-1881]. *The Carlyle Letters Online [CLO]*, Brent E. Kinser, ed. 42 vols. Duke University Press: www.carlyleletters.org.
- Catrou, François, S.J., (1735) *Historia romana, arreglada a las notas geographicas, y críticas de los RR.PP Catrou y Roville*, Juan de Haller y Quiñones, trans. 3 vols. Madrid: Oficina de Antonio Marín.
- Ceva, Tommaso, S.J. (1690) *Iesus puer poema Thomae Cavae Soc. Iesu Iosepho Primo romanorum regi sacrum*. Milan [Mediolani]: Typis Caroli Antojj Malatestae.
- _____ (1704) *Philosophia novo-antiqua*. Milan [Mediolani]: Ex Off. Ghisulphiana.
- Charlevoix, Pierre-François, S.J. (1756) *Histoire du Paraguay*. 3 vols. Paris: Chez Ganeau, Bauche [et] D'Houry. Copy consulted at the Johns Hopkins University Special Collections, Peabody Library 989 C478.
- _____ (1779). *Historia Paraguajensis Petri Francisci-Xavierii de Charlevoix, ex Gallico Latina cum animadversionibus et supplemento*, Domingo Muriel [Cyriacus Morelli], trans. Venice [Venetiis]: Apud Franciscum Sansonii. Abridged copy consulted at the British Library BLL01000667137.
- _____ (1918). *Historia del Paraguay, escrita en francés por el p. Pedro Francisco Javier de Charlevoix... con las anotaciones correcciones latinas del p. Muriel*. Pablo Hernández, trans. Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suárez.
- Cieza de León, Pedro (1553) *Parte primera de la chronica del Peru: que tracta la demarcacion de sus prouincias, la descripcion dellas, las fundaciones de las nuevas ciudades, los ritos y costumbres de los indios, y otras cosas estrañas dignas de ser sabidas*. Sevilla: en casa de Martin de Montedoca.
- Clavigero, Francisco Javier, S.J. (1780-1781) *Storia antica del Messico cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli; e da' manoscritti; e dalle pitture antiche degl' indiani: divisa in dieci libri, e corredata di carte geographice, e di varie figure: e dissertazioni sulla terra, sugli animali, e sugli abitatori del Messico*. 4 vols. Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.

- Colegio de San Ildefonso (1748-1749), *Cifra feliz de las dichas imponderables, que se promete la monarchía hespañola baxo el suspirado dominio de su augusto soberano el Señor D. Fernando VI. . . certamen poetico, con que la humilde lealtad, y reconocida gratitud del real, y mas antiguo Colégio de S. Ildephonso de México . . . celebró el dia 23 de enero del año de 1748*. Salamanca: Imprenta de Santa Cruz.
- Constitución Federal de los Estados de Venezuela, 21 de diciembre de 1811*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2014. Accessed 7 April 2016. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcxd2t1>
- Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* (1838) [1558]. Reprinted from the Original Edition with an appendix containing a translation, and several important documents. London: Rivington, Simpkin and Leslie.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal (1632) *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España escrita por el Capitán Bernal Diaz del Castillo, uno de sus conquistadores, sacada la la luz por el P.M.Fr. Alonso Remon ... del Orden de N. S. de la Merced*. Madrid: Empronta del Reyno.
- Diderot, Denis and Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, eds. (1765) *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers...* Vol. 11. Neufchastel: Samuel Faulche, 1765. Accessed 10 December 2014 at University of Chicago. ARTFL Encyclopédie Project: <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>
- Domingo de Santo Tomás, Fray [1994] (1560) *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Cordoua [Facsimile, with a study by Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino. 2 vols. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica].
- Farrell, Allan P., trans. (1970), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes*. Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits.
- Fracastoro, Girolamo (1530) *Hieronimi Fracastorii Syphilis siue morbus Gallicus*. Verona [Veronae]: n.p.
- Funes, Gregorio (1814) *Oración patriótica que por el feliz aniversario de la regeneración politica de la America Meridional dixo el Doctor Don*

Gregorio Funes... el día 25 de Mayo de 1814. Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Niños Expósitos.

_____ (1856) [1816-1817] *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay, Buenos-Ayres y Tucumán*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. Buenos Aires: Imprenta Bonaerense.

_____ (1944) *Archivo del Doctor Gregorio Funes, Deán de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Córdoba*. 3 vols. Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional.

Gama, Basilio Da (1769) *O Uruguay. Poema de José Basilio da Gama, na arcadia de Roma Termino Sipilio, dedicado ao illmo. e exmo. senhor Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado Secretario de Estado de S. Magestade Fidelissima*. Lisbon [Lisboa]: Regia Officina Typografica.

García de Olarte, Tomás (Juan García de Vargas, S.J.) (1725) [1705] *Observaciones selectas de los modos de oraciones latinas, conforme se enseñan en los estudios de la Compañía de Jesús*. Madrid: Por la Viuda de Juan García Infanzon.

Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca (1609) *Primera parte de los commentarios reales, que tratan del origen de los Yncas, reyes que fueron del Peru, de su idolatria, leyes, y gouierno en paz y en guerra: de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel imperio y su republica, antes que los españoles passaran a el*. Lisboa: En la officina de Pedro Crasbeeck.

Habert, Louis (1707-1712) *Theologica dogmatica et moralis ad usum seminarii Catalaneunsis...* 7 vols. Paris [Parisiis]: Spiritum Billiot, Dionysii Thierry.

_____ (1729) *Pratique du sacrement de pénitence, ou Méthode pour l'administrer utilement... Nouvelle edition, revûe, corrigée & augmentée par l'Auteur*. Paris: Chez Barthelemy Alix.

Haroldus, Franciscus (1673) *Lima Limata Conciliis, constitutionibus synodalibus, et aliis monumentis: quibus venerab. servus Dei Toribius Alphonsus Mogroveius Archiepisc. Limanus Provinciam Limensem, seu Peruanum imperium elimavit, & ad normam SS. Canonum composuit: omnia ferè ex Hispanica sermone Latina reddidit, apparatu historico, necessarijs passim notis, et scholijs, ac opportunis indicibus illustravit Fr. Franciscus Haroldus*. Rome [Romae]: Typis Iosephi Corvi.

- Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo, S.J. (1778-1787). *Idea dell' universo che contiene la storia della vita dell'uomo, elementi cosmografici, viaggio estatico al mondo planetario e storia della terra*. 21 vols. Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.
- Ibañez de Echavarri, Bernardo (1770), *Regno Gesuitico del Paraguay dimostrato co'documenti piu classici de'medesimi Padri della Compagnia, i quali confessano, e mostrano ad evidenza la regia sovranità del R. P. Generale, con indipendenza e con odio verso la Spagna. Anno 1760*. Lisbon [Lisbona]: Nella Stamperia Reale.
- ____ (1872). *El reyno Jesuitico del Paraguay, por siglo y medio negado y oculto, hoy demostrado y descubierto*. In Francisco J. Brabo, ed., *Colección de documentos relativos a la expulsión de los jesuitas de la República Argentina y del Paraguay, en el reino de Carlos III*. Vol. 4. Madrid: Imprenta de J.M. Perez.
- Idiáquez, Francisco Javier, S.J. (1758) *Prácticas e industrias para promover las letras humanas, con un apéndice donde se examina el método del Sr. Pluche para enseñar, y aprender la Lengua Latina, y Griega*. Villagarcía: Imprenta del Seminario.
- ____ (1758) *Cornelius Nepos De vitis excellentium imperatorum breviariis, et notis Hispanicis illustratus a P. Francisco Xaverio de Idiaquez Soc. Jesu ad usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Jouvancy, Joseph de (1692) *Christianis Litterarum Magistris De Ratione Discendi et Docendi*. Lyon [Lugduni]: n.p.
- ____ (1758) *Q. Horatii Flacci De arte poetica libercum notis, ac perpetua interpretatione P. Josephi Juvencii è Societate Jesu*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Kaulen, Lorençou, S.J. (1786) *Reposta apologetica ao poema intitulado O Uruguay, composto por José Basilio da Gama, e dedicado a Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, irmão de Sebastião José de Carvalho, Conde de Oeyras, e Marquez de Pombal*. Lugano: n.p.
- Lampillas, Francisco Javier, S.J. (1778-1781) *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola contro le pregiudicate opinioni di alcuni moderni*

- scrittori italiani. Dissertazioni del signor abate D. Saverio Lampillas. 2 vols. Genoa: Felice Repetto in Canneto.*
- _____ (1782-1789) *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la Literatura Española contra las opiniones preocupadas de algunos escritores modernos italianos*, Doña Josefa Amar y Borbon, trans. 2 vols. Zaragoza: En la Oficina de Blas Miedes.
- Landívar, Rafael, S.J. (1782) *Rusticatio Mexicana*. Bologna [Bononiae]: Typographia S. Thomae Aquinatis.
- Lukács, Ladislaus, ed. (1965-1992). *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. 7 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò (1550) [1513] *Discorsi di Nicolo Machiavelli cittadino et segretario Fiorentino, sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*. N.p.
- Maffei, Giovanni Pietro, S.J. (1585) *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae qui Societatem Iesu fundavit Libri III*. Roma [Romae]: Apud Franciscus Zannettum.
- Maneiro, Juan Luís, S.J. (1791-1792), *Joannis Aloysii Maneirii Veracruzensis De Vitis aliquot mexicanorum aliorumque qui sive virtute, sive letteris Mexici imprimis floruerunt*. 3 vols. Bologna [Bononiæ]: Ex typographia Laelii a Vulpe.
- Molina, Fray Alonso de (1570) *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana. compuesto por el muy Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonso de Molina, dela Orden del bienauenturado nuestro Padre Francisco*. Mexico: Casa de Antonio de Spinosa, 1571.
- Montesquieu (1799) [1748] *De l'esprit des lois*, V. Goldschmidt, ed. Paris: Garnier Flammarion.
- Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, S.J. (1702). *La azucena de Quito, que brotó en el florido campo de las Indias. Compendio del original*. Lima: Por Joseph de Contreras.
- Muratori, Ludovico A. (1964) [1743] 'Da "Il cristianesimo felice nelle missione de' Padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguay Descritto da Lodovico Antonio Muratori".' In G. Falco and F. Forti, eds., *Opere di Lodovico Antonio Muratori* Vol. 1. Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 964-1013.

- Muriel, Domingo, S.J. [Cyriacus Morelli] (1791). *Rudimenta iuris naturae et gentium*. 2 vols. Venice [Venitiis]: Apud Josephum Rosa.
- _____ (1991) *Elementos de derecho natural y de gentes*. Luciano Abeille, trad. Buenos Aires : Universidad Nacional de La Plata.
- Navarrete, Juan Andrés, S.J. (1758) *P. Ovidii Nasonis De Ponto libri IV argumentis, et notis hispanicis illustrati A. P. Joanne Andrea Navarrete è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Navarrete, Juan Andrés and Joseph de Jouvancy, S.J. (1761) *Opuscula graeca ad usum Seminarii Villagarsiensis*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Nebrija, Antonio de (1601) *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis de institutione grammatica libri quinque*. Antequera [Antiquariae]: n.p.
- Noël, Alexandre (1703) *Theologia dogmatica et moralis: secundum ordinem catechismi Concilii Tridentini in quinque libros tributa...* 2 vols. Paris [Parisiis]: Sumptibus Antonio Dezallier.
- Nuix y de Perpinyà, Juan, S.J. (1782) *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias, contra los pretendidos filósofos y políticos. Para ilustrar las historias de MM. Raynal y Robertson*. Madrid: Joachin Ibarra.
- _____ (1783) *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias, contra los pretendidos filósofos, y políticos, para servir de luz a la historia de los señores Raynal, y Robertson*. Cervera: Imprenta de la Pontificia y Real Universidad.
- Oviedo, Gonzalo Fernández de (1547) *Corónica de las Indias: la hystoria general de las Indias agora nueuamente impressa corregida y emendada y con la conquista del Peru [por F. de Xeres]*. Salamanca: En Casa de Juan de Junta.
- _____ (1851-1855) *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar océano*. J. Amador de los Rios, ed. 3 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de Historia.

- Pascal, Blaise (1965) [1656-57] *Les provinciales; ou, Les lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un provincial de ses amis et aux RR. PP. jésuites*. L. Cognet, ed. Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères.
- Pauw, Cornelius De (1768-1769) *Recherches philosophiques sur les américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine*. 2 vols. Berlin: G.J. Decker.
- Petisco, José, S.J. (1758) *M.T. Ciceronis Orationes selectae argumentis et notis Hispanicis illustratae a P. Josepho Petisco è Societate Jesu in usum scholarum ejusdem Societatis*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- _____ (1758) *Gramatica griega*. Villagarcía: Typis Seminarii.
- Petitpied, Nicolas (1712) *De l'injuste accusation de Jansenisme. Plainte à m. Habert a l'occasion des Défenses contre un libelle intitulé: Dénonciation de la theologie de m. Habert*. N.p.
- Polignac, Melchior de (1747) *Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et natura, libri novem*. Paris [Parisiis]: Apud Joannem-Baptistam Coignard & Antonium Boudet.
- Pragmatica sancion de su Magestad en fuerza de ley para el estrañamiento de estos Reynos á los Regulares de la Compañia, ocupacion de sus temporalidades, y prohibición de su restablecimiento en tiempo alguno con las demas precauciones que expresa*. Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 2 Abril 1767.
- Raynal, Guillaume (1770) *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. 6 vols. Amsterdam: n.p.
- Real Academia Española (1726-1739) *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes*. 6 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco Del Hierro.
- Rengger, Johann Rudolph and Marcelin Longchamp (1827) *Essai historique sur la révolution du Paraguay: et le gouvernement dictatorial du docteur Francia*. 2nd. ed. Paris: H. Bossange.
- Rodrigues de Mello, José, S.J. (1781) *Josephi Rodrigues de Mello De rusticis Brasiliae rebus carminum libri I. Accedit Prudentii Amaralii Brasiliensis*

De sacchari opificio carmen. Rome [Romae]: Ex Typographia Fratrum Puccinelliorum.

Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio, S.J. (1639). *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Iesus en las Prouincias del Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay, y Tape.* Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno.

_____ (1640) *Catecismo de la lengua Guarani.* Madrid: Por D. Diaz de la Carrera.

_____ (1640) *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua guaraní.* Madrid: Juan Sánchez.

_____ (1724) *Arte de la Lengua Guarani con los escolios, anotaciones y apendices del P. Paulo Restivo sacados de los papeles del P. Simone Bandini y de otros.* Santa María la Mayor: Imprenta de Santa María la Mayor.

Sannazaro, Jacopo (1526) *Actii Synceri Sannazarii De partu Virginis. Lamentatio de morte Christi. Piscatoria.* Rome [Romae]: F. Minitii Calvi.

Serrano, Tomás, S.J. (1776) *Thomae Serrani Valentini Super iudicio Hieronymi Tiraboschii de M. Valerio Martiale, L. Annaeo Seneca, M. Annaeo Lucano, et aliis argenteae aetatis Hispanis ad Clementinum Vannettium epistolae duae.* Ferrara [Ferrariae]: Josephus Rinaldus.

Sigüenza y Góngora, Carlos (1680). *Teatro de virtudes políticas, que constituyen a un príncipe: advertidas en los monarcas antiguos del Mexicano Imperio, con cuyas efigies se hermoseó el Arco triunfal que la muy Noble, muy Leal, Imperial Ciudad de México erigió para el digno recibimiento del Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Conde de Paredes, Marqués de La Laguna, &c.* México: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón.

Sociedad Patriótica de Buenos Aires (n.d.) *Catecismo público para instrucción de los neófitos, o recién convertidos al gremio de la Sociedad Patriótica.* Buenos Aires: Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos.

Solórzano y Pereira, Juan de (1648) *Politica Indiana Sacada en lengva castellana de los dos tomos del derecho, i gobierno mvnicipal de las Indias Occidentales.* Madrid: Oficina de Diego Diaz de la Carrera.

Stöcklein, Joseph, S.J., ed. (1726) *Allerhand so lehr - als geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der*

Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien, und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern, seit 1642 bis auf 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd. Vol. 1. Augsburg/Graz: Philip Martins.

Suárez, Francisco, S.J. (1614) *R.P. Francisci Suarez... Defensio fidei Catholicae et apostolicae aduersus Anglicanae sectae errores, cum responsione ad apologiam pro iuramento fidelitatis, & praefationem monitoriam Serenissimi Iacobi Magnae Britanniae Regis.* Köln [Coloniae Agrippinae]: In Officina Birckmannica, sumptibus Hermannii Mylii.

Techo, Nicolás del, S.J. (Nicolas du Toict) (1673) *Historia Provinciae Paraquariae Societatis Jesu.* Liège [Leodii]: Ex Officina Typographica Joannis Mathiae Hovii.

Terreros y Pando, Esteban de (1786-1793) *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes en las tres lenguas francesa, Latina e italiana.* 4 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Ibarra, hijos y Compañía.

The Council of Trent (1545-1564). *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848). Accessed at the *Hanover Historical Texts Project* on 9 December 2014: <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/trentall.html>.

Vanière, Jacques, S.J. (1746) *Jacobi Vanierii e Societate Jesu sacerdotis, Praedium Rusticum. Nova editio auctior et emendatio.* Paris [Parisiis]: Apud Marcum Bordelet.

Voltaire (1859) *Ouvres complètes.* Paris: Edition de Ch. Lahure et Cie.

Yapuguay, Nicolás (1724) *Explicacion de el catechismo en lengua guarani por Nicolas Yapuguai con direccion del P. Paulo Restivo de la Compañia de Jesus.* En el Pueblo de S. Maria la Mayor.

_____ (1727) *Sermones y exemplos en lengua guaraní, con dirección de un religioso de la Compañía de Jesús.* En el Pueblo de San Francisco Javier.

E. Secondary sources

- Abbott, Don Paul (1996) *Rhetoric in the New World: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Colonial Spanish America*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Académie française (1762) *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française*. 2 Vols. Paris: Vve B. Brunet.
- Allen, Michael J. B. et al., eds. (2002) *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His philosophy, His Legacy*. Leiden: Brill.
- Altschul, Nadia (2012) *Geographies of Philological Knowledge: Postcoloniality & the Transatlantic National Epic*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Álvarez de Morales, Antonio (1988) *La ilustración y la reforma de la universidad en la España del siglo XVIII*. 3rd ed. Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991) [1983] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andrés-Gallego, José (2000) 'Consecuencias de la expulsión de los jesuitas en America: primer balance.' In *Jesuitas 400 años en Córdoba: congreso internacional, 21 al 24 de setiembre de 1999*. Vol. 2. Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 149-175.
- _____ (2001) '1767: Por qué los jesuitas: razón y sinrazón de una decisión capital.' In Manfred Tietz ed., *Los jesuitas españoles. Su imagen y contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 78-102.
- _____ (2005) *Tres grandes cuestiones de la historia de Iberoamérica: ensayos y monografía: derecho y justicia en la historia de Iberoamérica; Afroamérica, la tercera raíz; impacto en América de la expulsión de los jesuitas*. Madrid: Mapfre Tavera/Ignacio Larramendi.
- Arbo, Desiree and Andrew Laird (2015) 'Columbus, the Lily of Quito and the Black Legend: The Context of José Manuel Peramás' Epic on the

- Discovery of the New World: *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777).’ *Dieciocho* 38 no. 1: 7-32.
- Areces, Nidia (2004) ‘La Compañía de Jesús en Santa Fe, 1610-1767. Las tramas del poder.’ In Teresa Suárez and Nidia Areces, eds., *Estudios históricos regionales en el espacio rioplatense: de la colonia a mediados del siglo XIX*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 13-43.
- Armani, Alberto (1977) *Città di Dio e Città del Sole. Lo Stato gesuita dei Guarani. 1609-1768*. Roma: Studium.
- Astráin, Antonio (1912-1925) *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*. 6 vols. Madrid: Administración de Razón y Fe.
- Asúa, Miguel de (2014) *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and the Río de la Plata*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Bacigalupo, Mario F. (1979) ‘Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarri and the Image of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay.’ *The Americas* 33 no 4: 475-494.
- Báez, Cecilio (1910) *Ensayo sobre el Dr. Francia y la dictadura en Sudamérica*. Asunción: Talleres Nacionales de H. Graus.
- Bailyn, Bernard (2009) ‘Introduction: Reflections on Some Major Themes.’ In Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds., *Soundings in Atlantic history: latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1-43.
- Balmaceda Abrate, José C. (2005) ‘El origen de la imprenta en Argentina: introducción al estudio del incunable guaraní impreso en Loreto.’ In *Isabel I y la imprenta: consecuencias materiales, en el mundo cultural, de esta revolución tecnológica* [Actas de las jornadas, Madrid, 18, 19 y 20 de noviembre de 2004]. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- Batllori, Miguel (1966) *La Cultura Hispano-Italiana de los Jesuitas Expulsos; Españoles, Hispano-Americanos, Filipinos, 1767-1814*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.
- _____ (1984) *Evolución pedagógica de la Universidad de Cervera en el siglo XVIII*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona.

- Benítez, Gregorio (1996) [1906] *La Revolución de Mayo de 1814-1815*. Asunción: El Lector.
- Berlincourt, Valéry (2014) 'Commenting on Claudian's 'Political Poems', 1612/1650.' In Karl A.E. Enenkel, ed., *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries* [Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 29]. Leiden: Brill, 125-150.
- Beuchot, Mauricio (1997) *Historia de la filosofía en el México colonial*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Black, Robert (2001) *Humanism and education in medieval and Renaissance Italy: tradition and innovation in Latin schools from the twelfth to the fifteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonnefoy, Yves, ed. (1992) *Roman and European Mythologies*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Brading, David A. (1991) *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brezzo, Liliana and Ricardo Scavone Yegros (2008) *Polémica sobre la Historia del Paraguay: Cecilio Báez y Juan E. O'Leary*. Asunción: Tiempo de Historia.
- Brunner, Otto et al., eds. (1972-1997) *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. 8 vols. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.
- Burke, Peter (2004) *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Byrne, Susan (2015) *Ficino in Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Calderón Rondón, Homero A. (2006) 'Una reflexión más sobre el juramento de Bolívar en el monte sacro.' In *Homenaje a Bolívar* [Boletín GIESHAM 4, no. 7-8]. Mérida, Venezuela: Universidad de los Andes.
- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge (1999) 'New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650.' *The American Historical Review* 104 no. 1: 33-68.

- _____ (2001) *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____ (2009) 'Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?' *The American Historical Review* 112 no. 3: 787-99.
- Catalano, Pierangelo (1990) 'Modelo Institucional Romano e Independencia: República del Paraguay 1813-1870.' In *Diritto Pubblico Romano e Constitutionalismo Latinoamericano, I, Rio de la Plata* [Richerche Giuridiche e Politiche Materiali IV]. Sassari: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Richerche, 47-105.
- Caturelli, Alberto (1992) 'Ciudad platónica y ciudad cristiana en el Nuevo Mundo: el pensamiento de José Manuel Peramás.' *Verbo* 301/302: 17-32.
- Celenza, Christopher (2004) *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy*. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cesareo, Francesco (1993) 'Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century.' In Christopher Chappel, ed., *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions*. Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 17-33.
- Chaparro Gómez, César (2014) 'Del *De ratione discendi et docendi* de Jouvancy a las *Prácticas e Industrias de Idiáquez*: los avatares de la *Ratio studiorum* jesuita.' *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 34 no. 2: 315-336.
- Chaves, Julio C. (1957) *El Supremo Dictador*. Asunción: El Lector.
- Cheney, Patrick (2006) 'Defend his freedom "against a monarchy": Marlowe's Republican Authorship.' In Zachary Lesser and Benedict S. Robinson, eds., *Textual Conversations in the Renaissance: Ethics, Authors, Technologies*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 27-44.
- Classen, Albrecht (2014) 'A Global Epistolary Network: Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Missionaries Write Home. With an Emphasis on Philipp Segesser's Correspondence from Sonora/Mexico.' *Studia Neophilologica* 86 no. 1: 79-94.

- Codina, Gabriel (2000) 'The "Modus Parisiensis".' In Vincent J. Duminuco, ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*. New York: Fordham University Press, 28-49.
- Collani, Claudia von (2003) 'Der Neue Welt-Bott: A Preliminary Survey.' *Sino-Western cultural relations journal* 25: 16-43.
- Comerford, Kathleen (2015) 'Jesuits and Their Books: Libraries and Printing around the World.' *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 no. 2: 179-188.
- Cooley, Alison (2009) *Res gestae divi Augusti: text, translation, and commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Couto, Jorge (1994) 'Os conflictos com as reduções jesuíticas da provincia do Paraguai a guerra guaranítica.' In João Medina, ed., *História de Portugal, dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias* 5. Lisboa: Ediclube, 173-183.
- Covarrubias, José E. (2005) *En busca del hombre útil: Un estudio comparativo del utilitarismo neomercantilista en México y Europa, 1748-1833*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Cro, Stelio (1992) 'Empirical and Practical Utopia in Paraguay.' *Dieciocho* 15: 171-184.
- _____ (1994) 'Guaranica: De administratione guaranica comparata ad rempublicam Platonis commentarius.' *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies* 17 no. 48-49, Hamilton, Ont.: Symposium Press.
- _____ (1994) 'Classical Antiquity, America and the Myth of the Noble Savage.' In Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, eds., *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*. Berlin and New York: W. De Gruyter, 379-418.
- Curtius, Ernst (1990) [1953] *European literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Willard R. Trask, trans. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dainville, François (1951) 'Le Ratio discendi et docendi de Jouvancy.' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 20: 3-58.
- Davies, Martin (2006) 'A Tale of Two Aesops.' *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 7 no. 3 (2006): 257-288.
- Dávila, Beatriz (2009) 'The Rio de la Plata and Anglo-American Political and Social Models, 1810-1827.' In Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds., *Soundings in Atlantic history: latent structures and intellectual*

- currents, 1500-1830*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 371-404.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon (1986) 'Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France.' In Thomas C. Heller et al., eds., *Reconstructing Individualism, Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*. Stanford: Stanford University Press: 53-63.
- Denbo, Seth (2001). *Speaking relatively: a history of incest and the family in eighteenth-century England*. University of Warwick. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Di Camillo, Ottavio (1995) 'Interpretations of the Renaissance in Spanish Historical Thought.' *Renaissance Quarterly* 48: 352-365.
- Dichiara, Maria C. (1992) *El Colegio Nacional de Monserrat. Una breve historia*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba.
- Di Meglio, Gabriel (2008) 'República.' In Noemí Goldman, ed., *Lenguaje y revolucion: Conceptos politicos clave en el Rio de la Plata, 1780-1850*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 145-158.
- Dimler, Richard (1992) 'The Bee topos in the Jesuit Emblem Book: Themes and Contrasts.' In A. Adams and A.J. Harper, eds., *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety*. Leiden: Brill, 229-246.
- Durr, Renate (2007) 'Der "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen: Wissenstransfer als Moment jesuitischer Identitätsbildung.' In *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 34 no. 3: 441-466.
- Dyck, Andrew Roy (1996) *A Commentary on Cicero De Officiis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Earle, Rebecca (2012) *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____ (2016) 'The Pleasures of Taxonomy: Casta Paintings, Classification, and Colonialism'. *William and Mary Quarterly* 73 no. 3 (2016): 427- 466.
- Eatough, Geoffrey (1984). *Fracastoro's Syphilis. Introduction, Texts, Translation and Notes*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.

- Elliott, John H. (2007) *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Espino Martín, Javier (2005) *Evolución de la enseñanza gramatical jesuítica en el contexto socio-cultural español entre los siglos XVI y primera mitad del XVIII*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Feile Tomes, Maya (2015) 'News of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic, Part I. José Manuel Peramás's *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777).' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 22 no. 1: 1-28.
- _____ (2015) 'News of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic, Part II. José Manuel Peramás's *De Invento Novo Orbe Inductoque Illuc Christi Sacrificio* (1777).' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 22 no. 2: 223-257.
- Fernández Retamar, Roberto (1989) 'Against the Black Legend' in *Caliban and Other Essays*. Edward Baker, trans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 56-73.
- Ferrer Benimeli, José A. (1996) *Viaje y peripecias de los jesuitas expulsos de América: (El Colegio de Córdoba de Tucumán)*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accessed 30 October 2014 at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc73782>.
- Ford, Philip, Charles Fantazzi and Jan Bloemendahl, eds. (2014) *Brill's Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Studies*. 2 vols. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Foster, Kurt (1999) 'Introduction' in Aby Warburg, *The renewal of pagan antiquity: contributions to the cultural history of the European Renaissance* [1932], David Britt, trans. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities.
- Foucalt, Michel et al., eds. (2003) *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975*. New York: Picador.
- Fraschini, Alfredo et al. (2005). *Index Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Maximi Cordubensis Societatis Jesu Anno 1757. Edición crítica, filológica y bibliográfica*. 2 vols. Córdoba : Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.

- Fumaroli, Marc (1999) 'The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case.' In John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 90-106.
- Furlong, Guillermo (1943) *Historia del colegio del Salvador y de sus irradiaciones culturales y espirituales en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1617-1943*. 2 vols. Buenos Aires: El Colegio del Salvador.
- _____ (1947) *Orígenes del arte tipográfico en América, especialmente en la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes.
- _____ (1952) *José Manuel Peramás y su Diario del Destierro (1768)*. Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata.
- _____ (1952) *Nacimiento y desarrollo de la filosofía en el Río de la Plata, 1536-1810*. Buenos Aires: Kraft.
- Galluci, John (2010) 'Latin Terms and Periphrases for Native Americans in the Jesuit Relations.' In Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Ruys, eds., *Latin and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies/Brepols, 259-272.
- Ganson, Barbara A. (2003). *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Garay, Blas (1897) *Breve resumen de la historia del Paraguay*. Madrid: Uribe.
- _____ (1996) [1896] *La Revolución de la Independencia del Paraguay*. Asunción: El Lector.
- García Galán, Agustín (1995) *El Oficio de Indias 1566-1767*. Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla.
- García Serrato, Nelson (1941). *Francisco Acuña de Figueroa, primer poeta nacional. Estudio biográfico*. Montevideo: n.p.
- Gerbi, Antonello (1973) [1955] *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900*, J. Moyle, trans. Pittsburgh/London: Media Directions Inc.
- Gorzalczany, Marisa A. and Alejandro Olmos Gaona (2006) *La biblioteca jesuítica de Asunción*. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del autor.

- Grafton, Anthony and Lisa Jardine (1982) *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*. London: Duckworth.
- Grafton, Anthony et al. (1992) *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Grendler, Paul (1989) *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gruzinski, Serge (2002) *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Guasti, Niccolò (2006) *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli: identità, controllo sociale e pratiche culturali, 1767-1798*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.
- _____ (2008) 'I gesuiti spagnoli espulsi e l'apologia della Conquista del Nuovo Mondo: le Riflessioni imparziali di Juan Nuix.' In Maria Grazia Profeti, ed., *Giudizi e Pregiudizi: Percezione dell' altro e stereotipi tra Europa e Mediterraneo*. Florence: Alinea, 339-394.
- _____ (2009) 'Rasgos del exilio italiano de los jesuitas españoles.' *Hispania Sacra* 61: 257-278.
- Gustafson, Sandra (2014) 'Between Cicero and Augustine: Religion and Republicanism in the Americas and Beyond.' In Stephanie Kirk and Sarah Rivett, eds., *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 252-264.
- Guy, Alain (1985) *Historia de la filosofía Española*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Haase, Wolfgang and Meyer Reinhold, eds. (1994) *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*. Berlin and New York: W. De Gruyter.
- Hampe Martínez, Teodoro, ed. (1999) *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*. Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos/Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos
- Hankins, James (1990) *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*. 2 vols. Leiden/New York: E.J. Brill.

- _____ (1995) 'The "Baron Thesis" after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 no. 2: 309-338.
- _____ (2001) 'Two Twentieth-Century Interpreters of Renaissance Humanism: Eugenio Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller.' *Comparative Literature* 23: 3-19.
- Hardwick, Lorna (2008) 'Introduction: Making Connections.' In Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, eds., *A Companion to Classical Receptions*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 1-9.
- Harris, Steven A. (199) 'Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge.' In John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 209-240.
- Haskell, Yasmin (2003) *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____ (2007) 'Religion and Enlightenment in the Neo-Latin Reception of Lucretius.' In Stuart Gillespie and Philip Hardie, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 85-201.
- _____ (2009) 'Sleeping with the Enemy: Tommaso Ceva's Use and Abuse of Lucretius in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* (Milan, 1704).' In Juanita Feros Ruys, ed., *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*. Turnhout: Brepols, 497-520.
- Hausberger, Bernd (2007) 'El padre Joseph Stöcklein o el arte de inscribir el mundo a la fe.' In Karl Kohut and Maria Cristina Torales Pacheco, eds., *Desde los confines de los imperios ibéricos: Los jesuitas de habla alemana en las misiones Americana*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 631-662.
- Hilton, James (1882) *Chronograms, 5000 and more in number, excerpted out of various authors and collected at many places*. London: Elliot Stock.
- Hofmann, Heinz (1994) 'Adveniat tandem Typhis qui detegat orbes. Columbus in Neo-Latin Epic Poetry (16th – 18th Centuries).' In Wolfgang Haase and Rheinhold Meyer, eds., *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*. Berlin and New York: W. De Gruyter, 421-656.

- Höpfl, Harro (2004) *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornblower, Simon, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow (2012) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, Nicholas (1996) 'From "Nation" to "Race", The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought.' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 no. 3: 250-251.
- Ijsewijn, Jozef (1977) *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. Amsterdam/Oxford: North-Holland.
- Imbruglia, Girolamo (1983) *L'invenzione del Paraguay: Studio sull'idea di comunità tra Seicento e Settecento*. Naples: Bibliopolis.
- _____ (2014) 'A Peculiar Idea of Empire: Missions and Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in Early Modern History.' In Bernier et al., eds., *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 21-49.
- Játiva Miralles, María V. (2007). *La biblioteca de los jesuitas del colegio de San Esteban de Murcia*. University of Murcia. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Jauss, Hans R. (1982) *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, Timothy Bahti, trans. Brighton: Harvester.
- Jenkins, Richard (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Juderías, Julián (2003) [1914]. *La Leyenda Negra*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León.
- Kallendorf, Craig (2010) 'Education'. In Anthony Grafton et al., eds. *The Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass./London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 292-299.
- _____ (2016) 'Review Essay: Recent Trends in Neo-Latin Studies.' *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 no. 2: 617-629.
- Kaster, Robert A. (1995) *Suetonius De grammaticis et rhetoribus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kerson, Arnold L. (1976) 'El Concepto de Utopía de Rafael Landivar en la Rusticatio Mexicana.' *Revista Iberoamericana* 12 no. 96-97: 371-372.

- _____ (1988) 'Francisco Javier Alegre. A Mexican Latinist of the Eighteenth Century.' *Noua tellus* 6: 221-233.
- _____ (1991) 'Diego José Abad, *Dissertatio ludicro-seria*: edition, translation and notes.' *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40: 357-422.
- Kleinpenning, Jan M.G. (2003) *Paraguay 1511-1870. A Thematic Geography of its Development*. 2 vols. Frankfurt/Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Knight, Sarah and Stefan Tilg, eds. (2015) *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Koselleck, Reinhart (2006) 'Crisis,' Michaela Richter, trans. *Journal of History of Ideas* 67 no. 2: 357-400.
- Kratz, Wilhelm (1954) *El tratado hispano-portugues de límites de 1750 y sus consecuencias: estudio sobre la abolición de la Compania de Jesús*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Kristeller, Paul O. (1945) 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Renaissance.' *Byzantion* 17, 346-374.
- _____ (1956) *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Kueth, Allan J. and Keith J. Andrien (2014) *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kupperman, Karen O., ed. (1995) *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Laird, Andrew (2002), 'Juan Luis de la Cerda and the Predicament of commentary.' In Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, eds., *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill, 171-203.
- _____ (2006) *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana*. London: Duckworth.
- _____ (2007) 'Latin America.' In Craig W. Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 222-236.

- _____ (2010) 'Reception.' In Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 349-368.
- _____ (2012) 'Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth Century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit construction of a Mexican legacy.' *Renaissanceforum* 8: 231-261.
- _____ (2015) 'Colonial Spanish America & Brazil.' In Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 525-540.
- _____ (2015) 'The teaching of Latin to the native nobility in Mexico in the mid-1500s: contexts, methods, and results.' In Elizabeth P. Archibald et al., eds., *Learning Latin and Greek from Antiquity to the Present* [Yale Classical Studies 37]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 118-135.
- _____ (forthcoming) 'Orator, sage and patriot: Cicero in colonial Latin America.' In Gesine Manuwald, ed., *The Afterlife of Cicero* [Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplements]. London.
- Lamas, Andrés (1884), 'Introduction.' In Adolfo Berro, *Poesías de Adolfo Berro*, 2nd ed. Montevideo: Librería Nacional de A. Barreiro.
- Lanning, John T. (1956) *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Leonard, Irving A. (1992) [1949] *Books of the Brave: being an account of books and of men in the Spanish Conquest and settlement of the sixteenth-century New World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levaggi, Abelardo (2001) 'República de Indios y República de Españoles en los Reinos de Indias.' *Revista de estudios históricos-jurídicos* no. 23 (Buenos Aires): 419-428.
- Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short (1880) *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lohman Villena, Guillermo (1999) 'Huellas renacentistas en la cultura peruana del siglo XVI,' in Teodoro Hampe Martínez, ed. *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*. Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 115-128.

- Lupher, David (2003) *Romans in a New World, Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Lynch, John (1989) *The Spanish American revolutions, 1808-1826*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton.
- ____ (1989) *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.
- MacCormack, Sabine (2007) *On the wings of time: Rome, the Incas, Spain and Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mack, Peter (2011) *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maréchaux, Pierre (1992) *Le poème et ses marges. Herméneutique, rhétorique et didactique dans les commentaires latins des "Métamorphoses" d'Ovide de la fin du moyen-âge à l'aube de l'époque classique*. Université Paris-Sorbonne. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Mariluz Urquijo, José M. (1990) 'El Rio de la Plata y el ambivalente modelo de Roma (1800-1820).' In *Diritto Pubblico Romano e Constitutionalismo Latinoamericano*, 1, Rio de la Plata [Ricerca Giuridiche e Politiche Materiali IV]. Sassari: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 11-30.
- Martelli, Mario (2006) 'Tra Poliziano ed Ovidio.' In François Livi and Carlo Ossola, eds., *De Florence à Venise: études en l'honneur de Christian Bec*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 213-228.
- Martí, José (2016) *Nuestra América*. Barcelona: Lingkua-Digital.
- Martín, Luis (2001) *La conquista intelectual del Perú. El colegio Jesuita de San Pablo, 1568-1767*. Barcelona: Casiopea.
- Martindale, Charles (2007) 'Reception.' In Craig W. Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 295-311.
- Martindale, Charles and Richard F. Thomas, eds. (2006) *Classics and the uses of reception*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell.
- Martínez, María E. (2008) *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Martínez Baracs, Rodrigo (2005) *Convivencia y utopía, el gobierno indio y español de la "ciudad de Mechuacan", 1521-1580*. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Martínez Gavilán, Maria D. (2007) 'Racionalismo y tradición escolar en el Arte de Nebrija reformado por el P. Juan Luis de la Cerda.' *Península: Revista de Estudios Ibéricos* 4: 327-346.
- Martínez-Serna, J. Gabriel (2009) 'Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits' Atlantic Network.' In Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds., *Soundings in Atlantic history: latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 181-210.
- Maryks, Robert A. (2008) *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabalism* [Volume 64 of Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.]. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Massare de Kostianovsky, Olinda (1968) *La instrucción pública en el Paraguay colonial*. Asunción: Escuela Técnica Salesiana.
- Maxwell, Kenneth (1995) *Pombal, paradox of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McFarlane, Anthony (2014) *War and Independence in Spanish America*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- McKinley, Kathryn L. (2001) *Reading the Ovidian heroine: metamorphoses commentaries, 1100-1618*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Melai, Fabrizio (2011) 'Sul significato del "platonismo" di Peramás nel suo Commentarius (1793).' *Società e Storia* no. 134: 673-688.
- Melià, Bartomeu (1969) *La création d'un langage chrétien dans les réductions des guarani au Paraguay*. University of Strasbourg. PhD thesis.
- _____ (1992) *La lengua guaraní del Paraguay: historia, sociedad y literatura*. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre.
- _____ (2003) *La lengua guaraní en el Paraguay colonial: que contiene la creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los guaraníes en el Paraguay*. Asunción: Centro de Estudios Paraguayos "Antonio Guasch".

- Molino García, Ricardo del (2007) *Griegos y romanos en la primera república Colombiana: La antigüedad clásica en el pensamiento emancipador neograndino (1810-1816)*. Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia/Guadalupe.
- Morales, Martín (2010) '¿Guaraníes? No, aqueos. Una lectura de la obra de José Manuel Peramás *De Administratione Guaranica comparate ad Rempublicam Platonis commentarius* (1793).' In Perla Chinchilla, ed., *Los jesuitas formadores de ciudadanos. La educación dentro y fuera de sus colegios. Siglos XVI-XVI*. México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 209-243.
- Morgan, Ronald J. (2002) *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Mörner, Magnus (1953) *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region. The Habsburg Era*. Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American Studies.
- _____ (1966) 'The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and Spanish America in 1767 in Light of Eighteenth-Century Regalism.' *The Americas* 23 no. 2: 156-164.
- _____ (1985) *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires: Hyspamérica.
- _____ (1997) 'The Guaraní Missions and the Segregation Policy of the Spanish Crown.' In J.S. Cummins, ed., *Christianity and Missions 1450-1800* [Variorum Expanding World Series Vol. 28]. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 197-216.
- Moya, Silvano B. (2000) *Reformismo e Ilustración. Los Borbones en la Universidad de Córdoba*. Córdoba: Centro de Estudios Históricos "Prof. Carlos S.A. Segreti."
- _____ (2013) 'La cultura teológica de las élites letradas, ¿especulación teórica o pragmatismo en el Tucumán del siglo XVIII?' *Hispania Sacra* 65: 309-359.
- Narancio, Edmundo M. (1992) *La Independencia de Uruguay*. Madrid: Mapfre.
- Navarro, Bernabé (1948) *La introducción de la filosofía moderna en México*. México: El Colegio de México.

- Nickson, Robert A. (2009) 'Governance and the Revitalization of the Guarani Language in Paraguay.' *Latin American Research Review* 44 no. 3: 3-26.
- Nora, Pierre (1998) *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. 3 vols. Lawrence Kritzman, ed. and Arthur Goldhammer, trans. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Núñez de Baez, Guillermina (1972) *Ilustre prócer de la nacionalidad paraguaya Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia*. Asunción: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
- O'Malley, John, S.J. (1993) *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- _____ (2000) 'How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education.' In Vincent J. Duminuco, ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*. New York: Fordham University Press, 56-74.
- _____ (2000) 'From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present: A Humanistic Tradition?' In Vincent J. Duminuco, ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*. New York: Fordham University Press, 127-144.
- _____ (2015) O'Malley, ed., *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi (1640)*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press.
- O'Neill, Charles and Joaquín M. Domínguez (2001) *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*. 4 vols. Roma/Madrid: Institutum Historicum S.I/ Universidad Pontificia Comillas.
- Osorio Romero, Ignacio (1976) *Tópicos sobre Cicerón en México*. Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas/Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- _____ (1979) *Colegios y profesores jesuitas que enseñaron latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- _____ (1980) *Floresta de gramática, poética y retórica en Nueva España (1521-1767)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- _____ (1991) *La Tradición Clásica En México*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma/Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas.

- Paciello, Oscar (1976) *Inspiración romana en el pensamiento del Doctor Francia*. Asunción: n.p.
- Pagden, Anthony (1987) 'Identity Formation in Spanish America.' In Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 51-93.
- Palacios Alcaine, Azucena (1999) *Introducción a la lengua y cultura guaraníes*. Valencia: Universitat de València Department de Teoria dels Llenguatges.
- Palti, Elías J. (2009) 'Beyond Revisionism: The Bicentennial of Independence, the Early Republican Experience, and Intellectual History in Latin America Author(s).' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 no. 4: 593-614.
- Paquette, Gabriel B. (2007) 'State-Civil Society Cooperation and Conflict in the Spanish Empire: The Intellectual and Political Activities of the Ultramarine Consulados and Economic Societies, c. 1780–1810.' *Journal of Latin American History* 39: 263–29.
- _____ (2008) *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- _____ (2013) 'The Study of Political Thought in the Ibero-Atlantic World during the Age of Revolutions.' In *Modern Intellectual History* 10 no. 2: 437-448.
- Pease, Franklin, ed. (1980) *Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
- _____ (1999) 'Temas Clásicos en las crónicas peruanas de los siglos XVI y XVII.' In Teodoro Hampe Martínez ed., *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*. Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos/Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 17-34.
- Peña, Roberto (1952) *Conclusiones Jurídicas defendidas en la Universidad de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII* [Cuaderno de Historia 17]. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad.
- Percival, Keith (2004) [1988] 'Renaissance Grammar.' In *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* [Variorum Collected Studies]. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- _____ (2004) [1999] 'Nebrija's Linguistic Oeuvre as a Model for Missionary Linguistics.' In *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* [Variorum Collected Studies]. Aldershot: Ashgate, 15-29.

- Pérez Picón, Conrado (1983) *Un colegio ejemplar de Letras Humanas en Villagarcía de Campos (1578-1767)*. Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas/Excma. Diputación Provincial de Valladolid.
- Perrone, Nicolás (2010) 'Un ilustrado español dentro de la Compañía de Jesús. Breves rasgos de la figura y la obra de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro S.J. (1735-1809)'. Accessed 10 October 2014 at Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcw39j0>.
- _____ (2014) 'Algunas aproximaciones a la construcción literaria de enemigos en la historiografía jesuítica iberoamericana. Cambios y permanencias entre los siglos XVIII y XX.' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 84 no. 165: 111-129.
- Pioli, Alicia Juliana (2002) *O Colégio jesuíta de Corrientes*. São Leopoldo: Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos. Unpublished MA dissertation.
- Plett, Heinrich F. (2004) *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Pocock, John (1975) *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- _____ (1978) 'The concept of a language and the métier d'historien: some considerations on practice.' In Anthony Pagden, ed., *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19-38.
- _____ (1985) *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Portuondo, María (2009) *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pueyrredón, Alfredo (1953) *Algunos aspectos de la enseñanza en la Universidad de Córdoba durante la Regencia Franciscana* [Cuadernos de Historia 24]. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad.
- Puhl, Louis J. Puhl, ed. (1951) *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*. Chicago: Loyola University Press.

- Putnam, Michael, trans. (2009) *Jacopo Sannazaro. Latin Poetry*. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press.
- Real Azúa, Carlos (1969) *Los clasicistas y los románticos* [Capítulo Oriental de la historia de la literatura uruguaya 5]. Montevideo: Centro Editor de América Latina.
- Rebhorn, Wayne A. (2000) *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Rey Fajardo, José del (1979) 'El archivo y biblioteca del Colegio jesuítico de Maracaibo, inventariado en la expulsión de 1767.' *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 62 no. 247: 573-606.
- _____ (1999) *Las bibliotecas jesuíticas en la Venezuela colonial*. Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia.
- _____ (2000) *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá*. Venezuela: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.
- _____ (2007) *La República de las Letras en la Venezuela colonial (La enseñanza de las Humanidades en los colegios jesuíticos)*. Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.
- _____ (2015) 'The Role of Libraries in the Missionary Regions of Orinoquia.' *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 no. 2 (2015): 208-222.
- Riquelme García, Benigno (1975) *El Colegio Seminario Conciliar de San Carlos, de Asunción (1783-1822)*. Asunción: Ediciones Cuadernos Republicanos.
- Rivas Sacconi, José M. (1977) *El latín en Colombia. Bosquejo histórico del Humanismo colombiano*. Bogotá: Instituto colombiano de Cultura.
- Röben de Alencar Xavier, Wiebke (2014) 'Jose Basilio da Gama's Epic Poem *O Uruguay* (1769): An Intellectual Dispute about the Jesuit State of Paraguay.' In Marc André Bernier et al., *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas, Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*. University of Toronto Press, 189-218.
- Roberts, John L. (2013) *The Prolegomena of La Cerda's Commentary on Virgil: A commented edition from the Cologne 1652 imprint, with English translation and explanatory notes*. University of Warwick. Unpublished PhD thesis.

- Romm, James (2001) 'Biblical History and the Americas: The Legend of Solomon's Ophir.' In Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West 15450-1800*. New York: Berghahn Books, 27-46.
- Rossem, Stijn van (2014) 'The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century).' In Natalia Maillard Álvarez, ed., *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1-51.
- Rueda Ramírez, Pedro J. (2005). *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)*. Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla.
- Saeger, James Schofield (1972) 'Origins of the Rebellion of Paraguay.' *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 52 no. 2: 215-229.
- Salinas, María Laura (2003) 'San Fernando del Río Negro. Un intento evangelizador jesuítico a los abipones.' *Diálogo* no. 2: 293-322.
- Sánchez Quell, Hipólito (1981) *Estructura y función del Paraguay colonial*. Asunción: Editorial Casa América.
- Saranyana, José Ignacio, ed. (1999) *Teología en América Latina*. 3 vols. Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Sharpe, Kevin (2000) 'A commonwealth of meanings: languages, analogues, ideas and politics.' In *Remapping Early Modern England: The culture of seventeenth-century politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 38-123.
- Shepherd, Gregory J. (2014) *José de Acosta's De procuranda Indorum salute: A Call for Evangelical Reforms' in Colonial Peru* [Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures vol. 231]. New York/ Bern: Peter Lang.
- Shklar, Judith (1990) 'Montesquieu and the new republicanism.' In Gisela Bock et al, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 265-280.
- Skinner, Quentin (1978) *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Solana Pujalte, Julián (2007) 'El fondo del siglo XVI de la biblioteca del antiguo colegio de Santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba.' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 76 no. 151: 113-137.
- Stolley, Karen (2014) 'East from Eden: Domesticating Exile in Jesuit Accounts of the 1767 Expulsion from Spanish America.' In Marc André Bernier et al., eds., *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 243-262.
- Storni, Hugo (1980) *Catálogo de los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata), 1585-1768*. Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I.
- Suárez, Marcela Alejandra (2004) 'Antiquorum exempla: memoria poética y retórica en las *Laudationes Quinque* del P. Peramás.' *Bibliographica Americana* 1 no. 1: 1-9.
- _____ (2005) *José Manuel Peramás Laudationes Quinque: Cinco alabanzas al ilustre Sr. Dr. Ignacio Duarte Quirós*. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Nación Argentina.
- _____ (2007) 'Montiserrati nomen collegio aeternum esto: elogio, memoria e identidad en las *Laudationes Quinque*.' *Bibliographica Americana* no.4: 1-6.
- _____ (2009) 'La literatura neolatina del siglo XVIII y el exilio: La obra de Rafael Landívar y José Peramás.' In Roberto Casazza et al., *Artes, ciencias y letras en la América colonial: investigaciones presentadas en el simposio internacional homónimo realizado en Buenos Aires los días 23,24 y 25 de noviembre de 2005. Tomo II*. Buenos Aires: Teseo/Biblioteca Nacional, 147-160.
- _____ (2010) 'Peramás y la doble redacción sobre el exilio jesuítico' in *Debates en Lenguas Clásicas. Colección Libros de Filo*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-UBA.
- Sullivan, John P. (1991) *Martial the Unexpected Classic: A Literary and Historical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanck de Estrada, Dorothy (1985) 'Tensión en la Torre de Marfil: la educación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII mexicano.' In Josefina Zoraida Vázquez

- et al., *Ensayos sobre Historia de la Educación en México*. México: El Colegio de México, 27-100.
- Taplin, Oliver (1980). 'The Shield of Achilles within the *Iliad*'. *Greece & Rome* 27 no. 1: 1-21.
- Telesca, Ignacio (2008) 'Esclavos y Jesuitas: el colegio de Asunción del Paraguay' in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 75 no. 153: 191-211.
- _____ (2009) *Tras los Expulsos. Cambios demográficos y territoriales en el Paraguay después de la expulsión de los jesuitas* [Biblioteca de Estudios Paraguayos 76]. Asunción, Paraguay: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos de la Universidad Católica.
- _____ (2009) 'Paraguay a fines de la Colonia: ¿mestizo, español o indígena?' *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 46: 261-288.
- _____ (2009) 'Más allá de las misiones: El Colegio Jesuítico de Asunción en el siglo XVIII.' *Diálogos* 13 no. 2: 323-345.
- _____ (2014) 'The First Return of the Jesuits to Paraguay.' In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, eds. [Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 178]. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 415-432.
- Tord, Luis E. (1999) 'Platón, la Atlántida, y los cronistas del Perú.' In Teodoro Hampe Martínez, ed., *La tradición clásica en el Perú virreinal*. Lima: Sociedad Peruana de Estudios Clásicos/Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 35-46.
- Traver Vera, Ángel (2009). *Lucrecio en España*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Troisi Melean, Jorge (2000) 'Los colegios de la provincia del Paraguay y sus esclavos'. In *Jesuitas, 400 años en Córdoba: Congreso internacional, 21 al 24 de setiembre de 1999*. Vol. 1. Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 339-352.
- Tutté, Andrea and Norma Ibáñez de Yegros (2008) *Catálogo Sección Historia - Archivo Nacional de Asunción: Síntesis revisada y ampliada de los catálogos elaborados durante el Siglo XX*. Asunción: Tiempo de Historia.

- Vallejo, Javier F. (2016) *Die spanisch-amerikanische Jesuitenuniversität als gesellschaftlicher Knotenpunkt*. Berlin: Freie Universität. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Vargas, José M. ed. (1983) *Polémica universitaria en Quito colonial*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Vázquez, José A. (1962) *El doctor Francia visto y oído por sus contemporáneos*. Asunción: Fondo Editorial Paraquariae.
- Vázquez, Josefina Z. (1985) 'El pensamiento renascentista español.' In Josefina Zoraida Vázquez et al., *Ensayos sobre Historia de la Educación en México*. México: El Colegio de México, 5-21.
- Vera de Flachs, Cristina (1989) 'La Universidad como factor de ascenso a la élite de poder en América Hispana. El caso Córdoba.' In M. Peset y S. Albiña, *Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Universidades Americanas y Españolas, Claustros y estudiantes* Vol. 2. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 399-426.
- Vera de Flachs, Cristina and Remedios Ferrero Micó (1996) *Finanzas y poder político en las universidades hispanoamericanas: el caso de Córdoba 1613-1854*. Córdoba: Ediciones del copista.
- Villalba Pérez, Enrique (2003) *Consecuencias educativas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de América* [Biblioteca del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad 8]. Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid/Dykinson.
- Vitale, Maurizio (1978) *La questione della lingua*. 2nd ed. Palermo: Palumbo.
- Vlassopoulos, Kostas (2010) *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy*. London/New York: Tauris.
- Wacquet, Françoise (2001) *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*. London: Verso.
- Walker, Charles F. (1999) *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru 1780-1840*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Weijers, Olga (2015) *A Scholar's Paradise: Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris*. Turnhout: Brepols.

- West, David A. (1990) [1975] 'Cernere erat: The Shield of Aeneas'" In S.J. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 295-304.
- Whigham, Thomas (1991) *The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780–1870*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- White, Richard A. (1978) *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Williams, John Hoyt (1979) *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800–1870*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wirszubski, Chaim (1968) *Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiseman, Timothy P. (1995) *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Worden, Blair (1990) 'Milton's republicanism and the tyranny of heaven.' In Gisela Bock et al., eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229-246.

F. Illustrations

Figure 1 – Matthäus Seutter, *Paraquariae provinciae Soc[ietatis] Iesu cum adjacentibus novissima descriptio post iteratas peregrinationes, et plures observationes ...* [c. 1740]. Accessed 14 August 2016 at [gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-2987 \(9445\)](http://gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-2987 (9445).).
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40618225j>

Figure 2 – 'Der Neue Welt-Bott mit aller hand nachrichten deren Missionarien Soc[ietatis] IESU'. In Joseph Stöcklein, S.J., ed., *Allerhand so lehr - als geistreiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen ...* Vol. 1. Augsburg & Graz, 1726. Duke University Libraries, Jantz Collection. Accessed 10 May 2015 at <https://archive.org/details/allerhandsolehra00stck>.

Figure 3 – Florian Paucke, 'Dans une réduction au Paraguay, divers vêtements de jésuites ou d'élèves'. In *Hin und Her* Vol. 1 [1770/1773-1780]. Zwettl,

Stiftsbibliothek: Cod. Zwetl. 420, p. 284 sq. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* photo reproduction. Accessed 15 August 2016 at http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/grand/2_46c.htm.

Figure 4 – Map of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay and neighbouring lands, in Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* Vol. 2. Paris: Chez Ganeau, Bauche [et] D'Houry, 1756.

Figure 5 – Coat of arms of Duarte (Museo Provincial, Córdoba). Accessed 9 December 2014 at <http://heraldicaargentina.blogspot.co.uk/2012/09/escudo-del-colegio-nacional-de-monserrat.html>.

Figure 6 – José Cardiel, *Mapa de la Governación de Paraguay, y de la de Buenosayres, con la Linea divisoria de las tierras de España y Portugal, ajustada entre las dos Coronas año de 1750; cuya posesión se pretende tomar este anho de 1752. Pónese tambien las tierras que tocan a Portugal segun la Linea del Papa Alejandro VI, en que antiguamente se ajustaron las dos Coronas* [1752]. España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Simancas MPD, 06, 032). Accessed 4 August 2016 at <http://www.mcu.es/ccbae/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=176765>.

Figure 8 – Florian Paucke, S.J. 'Dress of Spaniards in America' by Florian Paucke, S.J. In *Hin und Her*. Zwettler Codex 420 [1770/1773-1780]. Museo Casa Histórica de la Independencia, Tucumán. Galería de Imágenes. Accessed 8 August 2016 at http://www.museocasahistorica.org.ar/wordpress/wp-content/gallery/colonial/07_colonial_florian-paucke